U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

Smoot resigned from FF 8/55 at request of Hoover

MR ERNIE LAZAR
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February 6, 2006

Facts Forum HQ

Subject: FILE 62-94811/SERIAL 37 THRU 100

FOIPA No. 1029068- 000

37 = 7/5/55
45 = 7/13/60
= end of file

Dear Requester:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

QV
Byron Inc film entitled "American Crusts in the U.N." circa 1960
SAC OKC forwarded copy of film to HQ
Film reviewed 7/5/60 by FBI Supervisors in Sub Control + Investigative Division.
Commentator on film was Dan Smoot.

Section 552		Section 552a	
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☐(b)(6)		☐(k)(7)	

95 page(s) were reviewed and **95 page(s)** are being released.

☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

- ☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.
- ☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(2)

Please be advised that 62-HQ-94811consists of serials 1thru 45.

ORDED - 71

62-94811-37

July 5, 1955

[redacted]

Arlington, Virginia

INDEXED - 71

Dear [redacted]: b7C

EX - 103

Your letter of June 23, 1955, with the enclosed publication, has been received.

I wish to thank you for making available your observations. Concerning your request for advice, the FBI is strictly a fact-gathering agency, and we are not empowered to make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I am unable, therefore, to comment further.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: In June, 1951, the Dallas Office submitted background information concerning Facts Forum which apparently is financed by H. L. Hunt, millionaire oil man. The Organization was organized during the summer, 1951, and conducts public opinion polls. It is designed to stay away from partisan politics and will deal with studies including governmental science and other vital subjects. [redacted] has been [redacted] and [redacted] Facts Forum. It was recommended in a memorandum dated July 14, 1951, captioned "Facts Forum, [redacted]," that we not cooperate with Facts Forum in any way. (62-94811-4) b7C

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Bureau
F.B.I.
Wash. DC

June 23/55

Dear Sir
For the Past 3 Months I have been receiving a Magazine Called Facts Forum This Publication has been Coming to me thru the Mail I did not subscribe to it. How or why it is being sent to me I don't know, I don't want to "look a gift horse in the mouth" but I am suspicious of any thing free so on the advice of the Better Business Bureau of Wash DC I am sending it to you for any advise you may care to offer.

Respectfully

ENCL. ATTACHED

RECORDED 62-94811-37

JUL 6 1955

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Arlington Va

Phone Jackson 2-8077 or
Columbia 5-1000

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BUCKLEY: THE LIBERAL MIND 6/55

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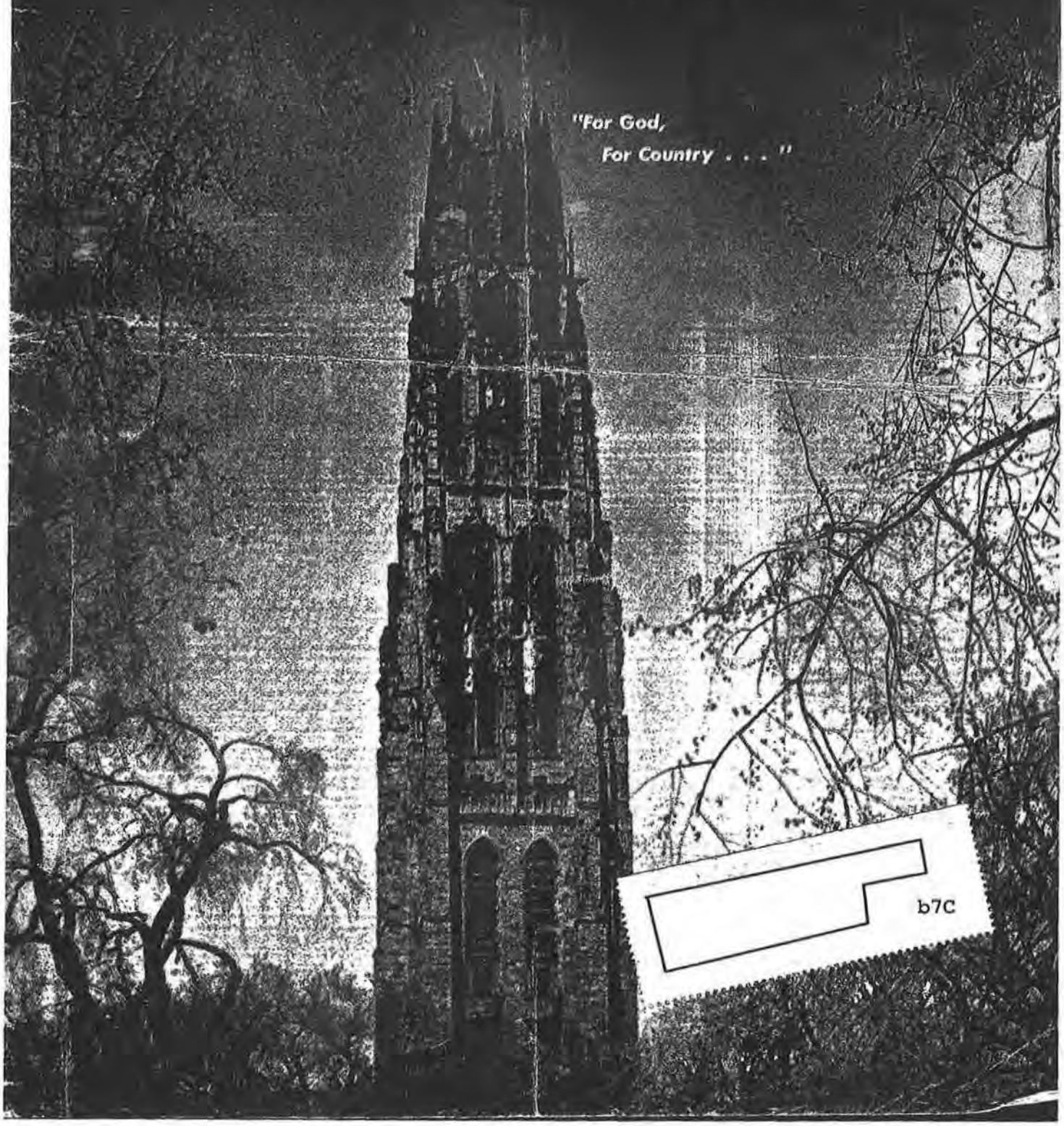
FACTS FORUM NEWS

Makes the Public Interest of Interest to the Public



Prose

"...there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

—CARL RUSSELL FISH
The Path of Empire

"The United States began its existence by making 'liberty' its chief goal. Liberty now is coming to be replaced by another objective—'security.' And men are being induced into surrendering liberty in order to obtain it. But all that happens is that they lose their liberties —and they do not obtain security."

—CARLYLE B. HAYNES
"Is World Security Possible"
These Times Magazine, April, 1955

"One of the great casualties of our generation has been the decline of indignation. We have become so callousd by the grief and tragedy of the world that our awareness has been completely blunted."

—DR. ABRAM LEON SACHAR
President of Brandeis University

"He who looks with pride upon the history which his fathers have written by their heroic deeds, who accepts with gratitude the inheritance which they have bequeathed to him and who highly resolves to preserve this inheritance unimpaired and to pass it on to his descendants enlarged and enriched, is a true American, be his birthplace or his parentage what it may."

—LYMAN ABBOTT
from *"Think"* (IBM magazine)
February, 1955

"Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

"To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Persons submitting quotations which are used in this column will receive one-year subscriptions to *Facts Forum News*. If already a subscriber, the contributor may designate another person to whom the award subscription will be sent, or he may wish to extend his present subscription.

Be sure to list the authors and sources of all quotations.

Readers Report

Of, by, and for *Facts Forum News* readers

Parents See Crux in SNUX

In hundreds of U.S. communities, groups of parents have been rebelling against the school grading system known as SNUX—the marks stand, respectively, for "Normal growth is taking place," "More effort should be made," "Unsatisfactory work," and "Needs special help."

Many parents maintain that the S or "Normal growth is taking place" grade doesn't really tell how their children are doing in school. One dissatisfied parent commented, "This type of grading tends to condition the mind for socialism and communism."

A former Kansas school superintendent asserted, "When one calls for the abolishment of all competition in the classrooms, and doing away with rewards for superior efforts, he is merely advocating for the childhood level the same things that the Communists are demanding in our society for the adult level." He added that such a policy carried to the extreme would prepare children more for communistic regimentation than for free-enterprise society.

In one city, 82 per cent of the voting parents chose to abolish SNUX and to restore ABCDE report cards.

Another new grading system simply offers an SN report card—for "Satisfactory progress" and "Needs improvement." Some communities have eliminated report cards altogether—there are no grades of any kind.

"The Struggle for Our Children's Minds" series by Howard Whitman in *Collier's* included this facet of the American school situation.

On the Firing Line Again

Subversive activities in the midwestern and southwestern states are being exposed through the semi-monthly letter, *ANR Report*, edited by Karl Baarslag, former editor of the American Legion's *Firing Line*, and published by American National Research, Inc., P. O. Box 57, Dallas, Texas.

For twenty-five years, Baarslag has been battling communism. He served on the Communist Desk of the Office of Naval Intelligence in Washington during World War II and is a former national Legion director of countersubversive activities.

Baarslag, who twice each month pinpoints those whose actions (and often inaction) do harm to America, is one of the very few nationally-known experts on communism who has never been a Communist party member.

ANR Report not only exposes the MISTAKEN but also enables the reader to identify them.

On the March Against Communism

Writes Neil E. Wetterman from Cincinnati, Ohio:

"I have recently founded The Protect America League, Inc. of Greater Cincinnati. We are an organization dedicated to the furtherance of self and community education pertaining to the facts and philosophies of the Communist conspiracy.

"This program is being carried out through the distribution of literature, the sponsoring of seminars and speakers for the general public and especially high school students. Currently we are compiling, in addition to the above, an individual and organizational system of records so as to avail ourselves of the necessary information to alert our citizens of any individual, organizations or projects that might advance the cause of communism...."

Books Beat Comics to a Pulp

The Free Public Library at New Bedford, Mass., ran out of books after only about an hour of its books-for-comics swap. More than 4,000 youngsters rounded up over 100,000 comic books to deplete the library's supply of 800 books offered in its 10-to-1 exchange (limit of five library books per child). Swamped by the swap, the library had to reorder about 3,250 books to keep its end of the bargain.

Librarian Laurence G. Hill said he was "surprised but very pleased" at the response. Sea stories ranked high on the list of "swap books" chosen by the older children. However, grades seven to nine put "Davy Crockett" first ("leading by hundreds of yards!" according to the library).

Student Government Day Observed

Also in New Bedford, Student Government Day is observed annually at the high school. At this time, pupils assume duties of school officials and teachers.

Everett S. Allen, assistant to the editor of *The Standard-Times* of New Bedford outlined for the students the benefits of the American heritage for today's youth and traced the sociological, economical, and scientific development of America.

"Despite all these accomplishments we find it harder to raise a national spirit in the United States than in any other country in the world," Mr. Allen asserted. "Patriotism sometimes becomes a 'corny' thing." He went on to say, "This country needs 164 million salesmen for the country to realize the fact we have what we have, not license, but self-government."

ADA Supports "The Investigator"

Despite protests from the American Legion, the Pleasantville, N. Y., Board of Education unanimously approved presentation of a controversial film and a phonograph record, "The Investigator," in its junior high school.

The movie, a filmed transcript of Edward R. Murrow's television interview with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, along with the record satirizing congressional investigations, were arranged for night showing by the Central Westchester Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

In the words of the *Facts Forum News* reader who submitted this information, "The surrender of the Pleasantville school board in this case was shocking. Despite the fact that all left-wing teachers and their propaganda are barred from the schools, this particular school board grants permission to use the school for propaganda purposes at night!"

(ON THE ALERT—Keep this column informed of patriotic activities in your area by writing "Readers Report," Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.)

FACTS FORUM NEWS

Volume IV **Number 6**

June, 1955.

Official publication of Facts Forum, Inc., 1802 Main St., Dallas 1, Texas. Published monthly in the interests of Facts Forum participants and others concerned with dispelling public apathy. Any article contained in Facts Forum News may be freely reproduced. Second class mailing privileges authorized at Dallas, Texas. Printed in U.S.A.

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COMMENTATOR: Dan Smoot.

EDITOR: Medford Evans.

If you wish to make a contribution to Facts Forum, address Joe Nash, Treasurer, Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas. Such contributions carry a tax-deductible status.

FACTS FORUM is a nation-wide public educational venture dedicated to arousing public interest in important current events and stimulating individual participation in the shaping of public policy.

Facts Forum is nonprofit and nonpartisan, supporting no politics) candidate or party. Facts Forum's activities are designed to present not just one view of a controversial issue, but all views, believing that it is the right and the obligation of the American people themselves to learn all the facts and come to their own conclusions.

TO SUBSCRIBE, see Pages 45-46.

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IN MEMORIAM

Lyda Bunker Hunt

Mrs. H. L. Hunt, wife of Facts Forum's founder and chief patron, herself a member of the Advisory Board, died May 6, 1955, at St. Mary's Hospital in Rochester, Minnesota. She was buried Monday, May 9, in Hillcrest Mausoleum in Dallas.

Mrs. Hunt was flown to Rochester in a chartered plane May 2 for special treatment in the Mayo Clinic after suffering a stroke.

She was accompanied by her husband, her daughters, Mrs. Loyd B. Sands and Mrs. Al G. Hill, and sons Nelson Bunker Hunt, William Herbert Hunt, and Lamar Hunt.

She is also survived by another son, Hassie, by a brother, N. W. Bunker of Lake Village, Arkansas, a sister, Mrs. Hal P. Sessions, also of Lake Village, and eleven grandchildren.

Pallbearers were Sherman Hunt, Jr., Stuart Hunt, Tom Hunt, Hunt Taylor, Fred Taylor, Jr., Floyd Sessions, Hal Sessions, Jr., Bill Sessions, and Nelson W. Bunker, Jr., all nephews.

Mrs. Hunt was born January 26, 1889, in Lake Village, the daughter of Nelson Waldo Bunker and Sarah Rebecca Hunnicutt. She was a graduate of the Maddox Preparatory School for Girls in Little Rock, Arkansas, and of Potter College in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

She and Mr. Hunt were married in Lake Village in 1914. In 1921 they moved to El Dorado, where they lived until 1932, when they moved to Tyler. In 1937, they moved to Dallas. The home is at 4009 Lawther Lrive.

Mrs. Hunt was a member of the board of trustees of Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia. She also was an active worker in the Highland Park Presbyterian Church. She was a member of several civic and social organizations in Dallas, including the Marianne Scruggs Garden Club, the Dallas Woman's Club, the Public Affairs Luncheon Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Lakeside Browning Club, and the Fronian Book Review Club.

The following verses were written in her memory:

In true simplicity of life
Kept pure and sweet, her wit and verve
To kindness gave efficient nerve,
As lady, woman, mother, wife.

The beauty of her grace and trust
Eclipsed the pomp at her command;
In her we better understand
God's image in the mortal dust.

And now, the dust to dust returned,
The spirit now in heaven at home,
As honey from the honeycomb—
She knows what none, on earth, have learned.

60-94811-37

DAN SMOOT *Interviews* DR. FRED SCHWARZ *on*

Communism and Intellectuals

Dr. Fred Schwarz, currently on his fourth world lecture tour is, as Dan Smoot says, "one of the pitifully few people who are consistently and effectively working to keep people reminded that the battle with communism is a battle to the death—our death, if we don't win it."

A surgeon and psychiatrist, Dr. Schwarz left his medical practice in Australia to specialize in diagnosing another disease—communism.

A Christian lay preacher, he believes the spiritual emphasis is essential in combating communism. His Christian Anti-Communism Crusade has offices at Waterloo, Iowa.

• • •

SMOOT: Dr. Schwarz, one of your conclusions fascinates me: that communism is a disease.

SCHWARZ: Communism is a disease. It is a disease of the mind, a disease of the spirit, but also a disease of the body. The definition of a physical disease is something which destroys health and life. According to this criterion, communism must be ranked as a major malignancy of modern times. Already it has destroyed the life and well-being of countless millions of sufferers, and the prospect of its destroying the life of many throughout the free world is very real.

SMOOT: What do you mean by that? Haven't we been mobilizing the massive wealth and strength of America to fight communism?

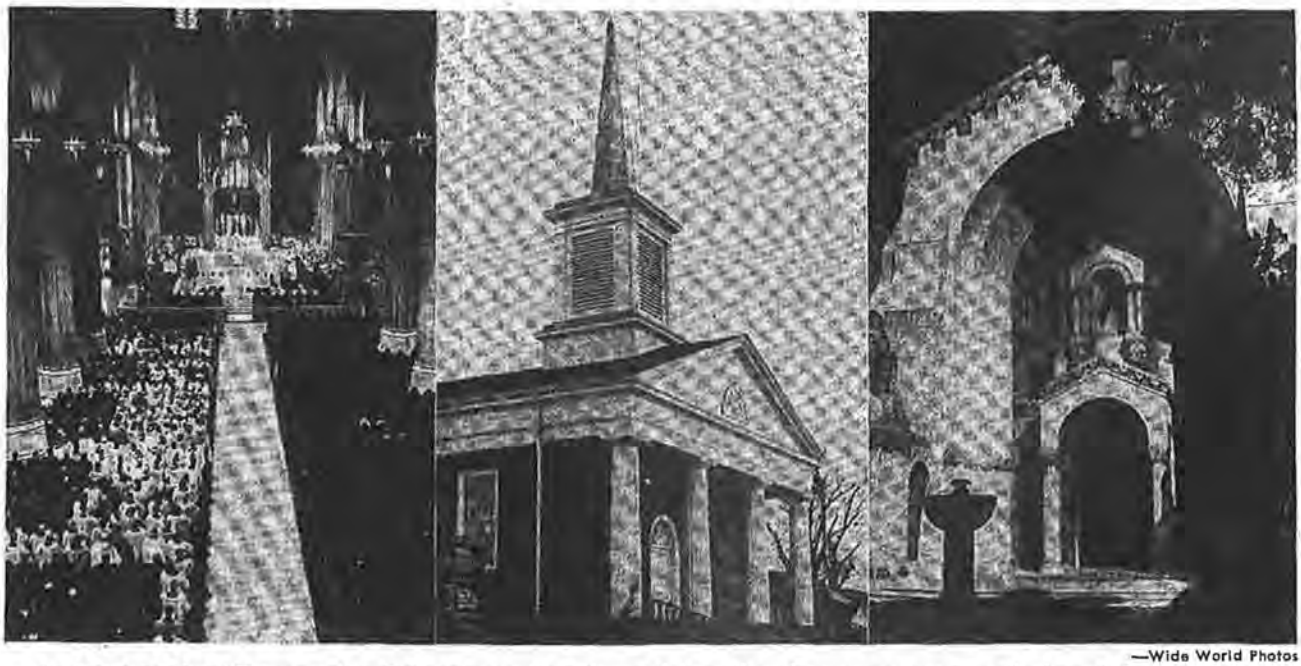
SCHWARZ: The history of our conflict with the Communists throughout the past generation is one of successive defeats. They have advanced from strength to strength, while the free world has retreated step by step. An individual who had come twenty years ago with the prophecy of the situation that exists in the world today would have risked incarceration in an institution for the insane. An honest analysis of the historic facts will lead to the terrifying conclusion that the Communists are conquering the world.

SMOOT: The Communists have made great advances in the past, obviously. Do you think they are still advancing?

SCHWARZ: We are accustomed to the authority of figures as the measure of progress. A brief look at the figures of Communist advance presents a terrifying picture. Lenin established Bolshevism with seventeen supporters in 1903. Lenin conquered Russia with forty thousand supporters in 1917. In 1955, the party of Lenin is in iron control of 900 million. Seventeen in 1903, forty thousand in 1917, 900 million in 1955, with a tentative date for the conquest of the entire world already fixed. If God would only burn the significance of those figures into our heart! If we had but the honesty to acknowledge them, the intelligence to understand them, the face to tingle with the terror of them!

At this moment, 900 million human souls are in the laboratory of Communist conditioning, being indoctrinated, brainwashed, fanaticized, selectively liquidated, and technically and militarily trained for world conquest and mass extermination. That is the honest, simple truth. No effort of the imagination can make it untrue. No heroic, determined act of the will can blot it out. Like a terrible, deadly cancer, there it stands, demanding the most earnest consideration and urgent action. The only possible basis of sound treatment for any disease is an honest acknowledgment of the severity of the situation. Complacency with cancer is the comrade of death.

SMOOT: You seem to think we have



—Wide World Photos

Dr. Schwarz states: "Once you deny God; once you deny the special creation of man; once you deny the love of God—you're naked and defenseless before the logic of the Communist argument." The Bill of Rights grants to every American the freedom to worship as he chooses. Above, left to right, are but three of the many places of worship in America: St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, First Evangelical Church at Memphis, Tenn., and Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco.

V. I. Lenin . . . Sounds the Call —Wide World Photo

—Wide World Photo
Ho Chi Minh

—Wide World Photo
Klementi Voroshilov

—Wide World Photo
William Remington

failed utterly to resist communism! Why have we failed?

SCHWARZ: I would suggest that, in large measure, our failure has been due to an incorrect diagnosis of the pathology of communism. It is an axiom that accurate diagnosis must precede effective treatment. If the trouble lies in the appendix, the removal of the gall bladder by the world's most brilliant surgeon may constitute a magnificent operation, but it is inadequate to treat the diseased condition. If the diagnosis is faulty, the treatment of necessity will be misdirected and ineffective. The generally accepted diagnosis of communism is that it originates in poverty, exploitation, and oppression; that it is primarily a movement of the working class. The corollary of this diagnosis has been the accepted belief that the best way to combat communism is to improve economic conditions, thus leading to the spontaneous decay of the Communist menace.

SMOOT: But Dr. Schwarz, it seems to me that America's foreign policy rests on the assumption that if we can help to eliminate poverty in the world, we will strengthen the people of the world to resist communism!

SCHWARZ: There is no delusion more dangerous than this one. This delusion is very widespread and limited to no special section of society. Recently, in Portland, Oregon, I went to get my laundry. I mentioned to the laundryman the rather frightening figures of Communist advance. He had enough sense to get frightened. He said, "We've got to do something. We've got to do something. We've got to feed them. No man ever became a Communist on a full stomach."

I looked at him quietly for a moment. I said I could mention one or two: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Bulganin, Kaganovich, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Ho Chi Minh, Alger Hiss, William Remington, Hal Ware, Whittaker Chambers—as a matter of fact, every major world Communist figure that's ever been, who became a Communist in a non-Communist country, did so as a student intellectual, materialist in philosophy and atheist in faith.

SMOOT: If poverty doesn't breed communism—what does?

SCHWARZ: Communism emerges, not out of poverty and exploitation, but out of godlessness and scientific materialism. With one of the leading ex-Communists in this country, I recently went over the entire early leadership of the American Communist party. Do you know how many men of working class origin we could find? One: Manning Johnson.

SMOOT: Where do the Communists get their recruits in America?

SCHWARZ: The Communist party of America has been reduced to taking college graduates and sending them to the workbenches of the factories. They find it much easier to recruit them in the colleges than from the assembly lines.

SMOOT: Doesn't communism claim to be a movement *for* the workingman—if not *by* the workingman?

SCHWARZ: The idea that communism

is a reaction to bad economic conditions is simply a bill of goods that Karl Marx has sold to the unsuspecting intellectual. Actually, it is Marxism. When accepted, it places a halo of beneficence around the entire Communist movement. Everything they do, however evil, is justified by the terrible conditions against which they are reacting; and the required emotional base for opposition to communism is destroyed.

Communism is not the friend of the working man. It is his arch enemy. It is not the improver of his economic conditions. It is the destroyer of his standard of living.

SMOOT: Are you implying that the conventional Western attack on the problem of resisting communism is 180 degrees wrong?

SCHWARZ: On this faulty diagnosis of communism the structure of treatment has been built. The essence of this treatment is to concentrate upon providing economic improvements for those people who are hearing the seductive call of communism in Asia and Europe. To improve living standards is good. To feed the hungry is a Christian act. But to take that program as the basis for fighting communism is as fallacious as to believe that cancer can be cured by improved nutrition. If our only hope of combating communism is to so improve the living standards of Asia that no promises the Communists make can have any appeal to them, we are already doomed.

If the living standards of Asia were tomorrow improved by 1,000 per cent, there would still be a whole field of human desires which the Communists could exploit for their own advantage. Actually, the Communists are using the very material advantages provided by improved economic conditions to recruit people to the Communist ranks.

I heard of an industrialist in India who desired to do the best that circumstances would permit for his workers. He built them a hospital, a school, playing grounds, and somewhat improved their wages and working hours. After three years, a very puzzled man said, "I can't understand it. Since I began these improvements, one-third of my workers have joined the Communist party."

The Communist agitator came to the employees, utilized the extra leisure time provided, and said:

"This proves what we've been telling you. We've got him frightened. He's beginning to disgorge some of his ill-gotten gains. Look at all the money he's got. Where'd he get it? That's the money he robbed from you. He's now trying to bribe you by giving you a little bit of it back. Are you going to fall for this scheme of his? Stand with us and we'll take the lot off him and you'll have it all." And they used the very advantages he had provided to recruit them into the Communist party.

Frequently we hear this reply: "We agree that poverty does not cause communism, but communism exploits poverty." This is true. But it ignores the very important point. What is this communism? Or, more accurately, who are these Communists who do the exploiting? Where are they recruited? How are they trained? What arguments are used to win them in the first place?

Communism is obviously not the spontaneous fruit of poverty. If it were so, the whole world must have been communistic centuries ere this.

SMOOT: Then where does communism first take hold?

SCHWARZ: Communism always begins by the conquest of the student mind with books. While the free world is spending billions on the bodies of men, the Communists are concentrating their entire assault upon the mind. It is paradoxical in the extreme that we who are professed idealists limit our treatment very largely to the material things, whereas the Communists, who are arrogant materialists, are conquering the world through the dissemination of ideas. Their major assault is the literary attack on the student mind.

I preached one Sunday evening at a church in Michigan. After the message, a man came up to me and introduced himself as a retired medical missionary from China. He had given the best years of his life in selfless service to the bodies and souls of the Chinese people. The Communists had come and conquered, and he had been expelled. He told me this:

"In 1926, in one day, I saw go through the mails of my province three thousand pounds of literature directed to the high school students." That's when they conquered China—when they conquered the student mind. They are conquering the student mind of all Asia at this moment through the vastest literature crusade the world has ever known.

Going home to Australia, I wrote ahead to a friend of mine and said: "Go to the Communist bookstore and buy for me the Communist classics."

When I got home, there was a pile of books awaiting me that would have covered an ordinary-size table. I said to him, "How much do I owe you?"

I almost fell over with shock when he replied: "$14.00." Two or three of the books alone were worth that much.

Take this one: Joseph Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*—magnificently bound, beautifully printed, first quality paper. How much do you pay for a book like this here in America? Everyone tells me from five to ten dollars. Do you know what it cost me back in Australia? Seventy cents. The seventy cents would hardly cover transportation and duty. Who paid for it? It is the international missionary literature campaign of the Communists. Where was it published? Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow.

Now, seventy cents seems cheap. But let's see what it costs in Japan. I have here a letter from Moses Sabina, conservative Baptist foreign missionary in Sendai, Japan. Listen to what he writes:

"Right now, while the American overseas libraries are trimming down their stocks and personnel, here the Communists are offering whole sets of Stalin's and Lenin's works for less than a dollar. Think of it. Twelve volumes and more of large books for less than a dollar. Many Japanese bookstores controlled by Communists sell this kind of propaganda literature for the price the customer can pay. 'Pay what you want' is the slogan they use."

The dread consequence of this is seen in an extract from another letter dated September 20, 1954. He is referring to the students in the universities:

"Of the hundreds of student newspapers, there is not one that is not either wholly communistic or at least controlled by the leftist Socialists, which here are almost the same as the Communists."

If the present rate of Communist conquest of the student mind in Asia continues unabated, all the atom and hydrogen bombs in the arsenals of the free world will be obsolete and redundant to halt the Communist advance.

SMOOT: What are those Communist books like?

SCHWARZ: The Communists divide them into two types: propaganda and agitation. They define propaganda as that which conveys many ideas to a few people. Heavy theoretical textbooks of this nature for the limited student group whom they desire to recruit into the Communist party core and scientifically indoctrinate. Propaganda is for them.

For the masses, there is agitation. Agitation they define as that which conveys one idea to many people. They take an event like the unfortunate death of the Japanese fisherman due to the hydrogen bomb explosion. They dwell upon it. They use it as a barb to inflame public opinion to stir up fear, bitterness, and hatred that they may scientifically exploit it for the over-all Communist objective.

Two central ideas of Communist agitation are: (1) that the Soviet Union is the most beautiful, peace-loving, progressive place in the whole world; and (2) that America is evil, vile, malignant, imperialistic, and warmongering, desperately threatening the peace of the world.

This first idea is disseminated through the photographic magazine, *The*

—Wide World Photo

Liu Shao-chi

Soviet Union, published in a vast number of languages. It is a beautiful photographic magazine, printed on first quality paper. It shows well-dressed, happy, smiling, and contented people, a land of sunshine, fertility, and peace, with happy and playing children, with concentration on the arts and humanities and devoted to the peace of mankind. There is not a gun in the whole magazine, not a sign of the seamy side of life—it presents a picture of a veritable heaven on earth. And multitudes of students are acquiring their ideas of Russia from this magazine and kindred literature.

The complement to that idea is publicized with equal fervor. I have here a copy of a booklet circulated throughout the world in multiplied millions of copies. This is the American edition entitled, *Report on War Crimes in Korea*, published by the Commission of International Association of Democratic Lawyers. I purchased it at the Communist bookstore in Los Angeles, called the Progressive Bookstore, 1806 West Seventh Street. It's a compilation of the filthiest and most treasonable lies ever put together in one volume. Yet it openly circulated on the American streets. I'll read you an extract:

"MASSACRES, MURDER, AND OTHER ATROCITIES.

"According to the evidence of Pyong Won Goon, the Chairman of the People's Committee, 35,383 civilians (19,149 men and 16,234 women) were murdered in the district of Sinchon during the American occupation which lasted from October 17 to December 7, 1950, that is for less than two months. On the evidence examined, the following facts can be established beyond doubt.

"On October 18, 1950, in the city of Sinchon, behind the building of the People's Committee, a mass murder of about 900 men and women, including about 300 children, was committed. Some of the women were pregnant.

"The murder was committed by order of the commander of the American occupying forces in the city: Harrison."

This refers to Major General Harrison. A friend of mine took him a copy of this and showed it to him in Korea. He was literally heartbroken to think that it was allowed to circulate openly in the American streets.

"Harrison was present when his order was fulfilled and took photographs of the execution. The murder was committed as follows:

"All the people were pushed into an open, deep grave. Harrison ordered them to take off their clothes, then ordered fuel oil to be thrown over the victims, who were set on fire. Those who tried to get out of the grave were shot. A witness declared, 'The cries and shrieks of these people were heartbreaking. Those who were not burnt to death were buried alive.' Harrison came the next day and took photographs."

SMOOT: Is this typical of the stuff they put out?

SCHWARZ: This is mild compared to some of the others which, if I tried to read, would cause trouble with the television authorities.

SMOOT: But surely no one in America believes such monstrous lies.

SCHWARZ: Yes, there are people in America who believed it. I have met them. Vast sections of the population throughout the world believed it. That's all they hear, and be not deceived—evil communications corrupt good manners. No man's judgment is any better than his information. And there is being built up toward this country—coldbloodedly, scientifically, and effectively—a terrible body of burning and malignant hatred to provide its creators with a deadly instrument of massacre and extermination when the moment is considered appropriate.

If there's one priority more desperately urgent than any other, it's that the true story of American Christian civilization should reach the student masses of Asia, in books and volumes as well printed, as well prepared, and as cheap as those offered by the Communists. Unless we enter and win the battle for the world student mind, the outlook for the future is perilous and desperate.

SMOOT: Why do educated intellectuals become Communists? Wherein lies the *appeal of communism* to them?

SCHWARZ: To answer this, we need to understand the very nature of the Communist promise which has seduced so many intellectuals throughout the world.

Communism is not primarily a program to change society. It is a program to change human nature itself. Men have dedicated their lives to the improvement of the quality of a plant. A man who was once vice-president of this great land is today endeavoring to improve the quality of chickens. Success in this field will constitute him a benefactor of the human race. Communism promises to utterly remake human character, personality, and culture, to redeem mankind from sin, and to populate the earth with a quality of industry, intellect, courage, and selflessness which history has never known. Communism is a religion, promising a new heaven and a new earth wherein the redeemed shall dwell.

Let us quote Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress in China, outstanding theorist of Communist China, from his book, *How To Be a Good Communist*, published by the Foreign Language Press of Peking, China, October, 1951:

"What is the fundamental and common duty of us Communist party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world. Is a Communist world good or not? We all know that it is very good. In such a world, there will be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists, or fascists. There will be no backwardness, etc. In such a society, all human beings will become unselfish and intelligent Communists with a high level of culture and technique."

SMOOT: What a picture!

SCHWARZ: He presents a picture of Communist world conquest, with a consequent perfection of the human race. Many people, shallow in thought processes, immediately say, "Well, communism has a very good goal—a goal quite akin to the goal of Christianity. There must be much that's good in it."

There is no form of thinking more dangerous than to adjudicate a movement by its goal rather than its methods. Every charlatan and half-wit of history has had a good goal. The real question is not how good is the goal, but will the methods advocated bring that goal to pass? I say to the Communists, "Huh, so you're going to remake the human race. That's very interesting. How're you going to do it?"

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The Liberal Mind

By William F. Buckley, Jr.

William F. Buckley, Jr., author of *God and Man at Yale*, co-authored with L. Brent Bozell the widely-discussed book *McCarthy and His Enemies*. Buckley, a 1950 Yale graduate, is a lecturer and regular panelist on Facts Forum's ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS. Buckley has projected a new magazine, *National Weekly*, which, according to *Newsweek*, is slated to begin publication in September.

In recent years, a number of important books and articles have been written, and important things thought and said about the Communist. What is he like? What goes on in his mind? What is he afraid of? How can we move him? How does he operate? What is he likely to do in this situation, or that one? How can we vanquish him here, contain him there, coexist with him over there? We haven't mastered the Communist temperament, or the Communist mind, true; much of the Communist remains inscrutable. But the progress we have made is vast. We have learned so much about this man, and about his movement that, I think it is safe to say, the Communist emerges as the most predictable political animal alive and active today.

One would think that, in this case, knowing the enemy is nine-tenths of the battle. After all, we are physically stronger than the Communists, and we firmly believe that our values are inherently superior to theirs.

Yet year in and year out we not only come in second in every lap of our mortal race with the Communists, we are made to look as though we had elected to race with balls and chains tied to our ankles, and blindfolds over our eyes.

Could it be that we have fundamentally misunderstood the Communists, with the result that, like the man with the shell game, they are able to fool us every time? Did we lose North Korea because the Communists upset all our careful calculations by acting atypically? Did we lose Indochina because the Communists pulled something out of the bag that no reasonable Westerner could possibly have anticipated? Do the Communists continue to have such strength in Italy and France because of an inventiveness so diabolically ingenious as to incapacitate the Western strategist? I believe not. As I say, I believe the Communist is a highly predictable creature. I believe that as the result of our tortuous journey into the recesses of the Communist mind, we have come close to understanding him.

But we do *not* understand the people charged with coping with the Communists, and they, quite evidently, do not understand the Communists. I believe that our most immediate challenge is to understand our leaders; and having understood them we must either dispossess them of power, or make them understand, or prepare to die. For our leaders, call them what you will—social democrats, Fabians, progressive moderates; I call them *Liberals*, and I spell that word with a capital "L"—are the unknown in the great equation.

I think it is easy to demonstrate that we know more about the workings of the mind of Nikolai Bulganin than we know about the workings of the mind of Dwight Eisenhower. For, while compared to one another with reference to almost any acceptable standard, one is a scoundrel and one relatively a saint—the life of Bulganin makes sense in a way that the life of Eisenhower does not.

A reviewer of my last book charged that in using the word *Liberal* I could only have in mind the clientele of *Nation* magazine. I have been careful in the past, and will continue to be, to be precise enough to defend myself easily against such a charge; so that when I talk about *Liberals* it is clear that I am not referring only to those frenzied malcontents who support the *Nation*, I have in mind the pleasant and pensive man who owns your local bookstore and fills his window full of the collected complaints of E. B. White, James Wechsler, and Elmer Davis, that good and lovable lady who regularly deserts her housewifely duties in the spring to help raise money for the United World Federalists, and the ambitious and orderly young man who works for a Wall Street broker and maps programs and draws up manifestoes for the Young Republican Club lamenting our age of suspicion. I don't mean to imply that there is no such thing as the sinister, the guileful, or the treacherous Liberal; there are many; but the majority are in most respects good and amiable and talented people.

So I am *not* talking about an unruly little eddy. When I talk about modern Liberalism I am talking about the mainstream of contemporary political and philosophical thought, the swollen and irrepressible stream fed for so many years by the waters of rationalism, positivism, Marxism, and utopianism.

As regards contemporary American controversies, the Liberal is likely to feel that Owen Lattimore has been unjustly persecuted and that our loyalty program has become an instrument of right-wing conformity. He tends to believe that the Bricker Amendment is a reactionary plot to immobilize the executive branch of government. He is easily persuaded that Senator McCarthy represents today the same kind of threat that Adolf Hitler held out to the Germans twenty years ago. And whatever little disagreements they have in their own ranks, the Liberals unite to honor their heroes. In law it is Oliver Wendell Holmes; in education and philosophy it is John Dewey; in politics it is Franklin Roosevelt.

The picture I have drawn of the Liberal is, of course, fragmentary and inconclusive. It has only the purpose of giving a general idea of just who it is I am talking about, of dispelling the notion that when I talk about a *Liberal* I could only be referring to mental spastics such as Nye Bevan or Agnes Meyer.

PERILS OF THE LIBERAL MIND

Then we cannot survive unless we understand our own leaders—the ruling elite of the Western world—the *Liberals*.

I urge therefore that those who are competent to do so set out, as a matter of urgent concern to us all, to explore the *Liberal* mind. I myself have neither the patience, the skills, nor the trepidation to embark upon so frightening an adventure. As of this moment I am merely reporting on what I can see from here, aware that the distance that separates me and my target may result in illu-

(Continued on Page 52)

A reply to Mr. Buckley is not available. Replies are invited.

In contrast with Mr. Buckley's view (1) that the "Liberal" mind is essentially different from—and more inscrutable than—the Communist mind, and (2) that the "Liberal" mind is quite undisciplined, FACTS FORUM NEWS reproduces an excerpt from the celebrated REPORT OF THE [CANADIAN] ROYAL COMMISSION on the Soviet spy ring revealed by Igor Gouzenko.

In this selection a view appears that (1) the "Liberal" mind is in a significant number of instances thoroughly disciplined, and (2) the discipline is of Communist origin.

Canadian Liberals in the Red Spectrum

The Report of the Royal Commission was based on hearings held between February and June, 1946. It was Igor Gouzenko who revealed the existence in Canada of a widespread conspiracy to obtain secret official information. Gouzenko, "civilian employee" of the Soviet Embassy of Ottawa, had served as cipher clerk on the staff of Colonel Zabotin, Military Attache.

Perhaps the most startling aspect of the spy network in Canada is the uncanny success with which the Soviet agents were able to find Canadians who were willing to betray their country and to supply the agent with secret information despite oaths of allegiance, of office, and of secrecy. Many of the Canadian public servants implicated in this espionage were extremely well educated persons of marked ability and intelligence and well regarded by those who worked with them.

Selections from the "Motivation of Agents" section under the subtitle, "The Development of Ideological Motivation."

The evidence before us shows that in the great majority of cases the motivation was inextricably linked with courses of psychological development carried on under the guise of activities of a secret section of what is ostensibly a Canadian political movement, the Labour-Progressive party (Communist party of Canada); that these secret "development" courses are very much more widespread than the espionage network itself; and that the Canadian members of the espionage network themselves took an active part in directing and furthering such courses for other Canadians, which were calculated to allow them to draw suitably "developed" persons later into active participation and thus to expand the network itself.

• • •

The Inquiry has revealed the names of a number of Canadians, employed in various departments and agencies of the government who, while presumably quite ignorant of the espionage network and certainly innocent of implication in such illegal activities, were being subjected to "development" by the same means for use in the future.

For these reasons we are analyzing with some care the question of motivation and the highly organized methods employed to develop an appropriate moral and mental state among potential Canadian recruits before they are informed of what has been planned for them.

In virtually all cases, as has been stated, the agents were recruited from among "cells" or study groups of secret members or adherents of the Communist party (Labour-Progressive party).

• • •

It seems to be general policy of the Communist party to discourage certain selected sympathizers among certain categories of the population from joining that political party openly. Instead, these sympathizers are invited to join secret "cells" or study groups and to take pains to keep their adherence to the party from the knowledge of their acquaintances who are not also members of the Communist party. The categories of the population from which secret members are recruited include students, scientific workers, teachers, office and business workers, persons engaged in any type of administrative activity, and any group likely to obtain any type of government employment.

The reason suggested by some of the agents in their evidence for the curious practice of keeping their political affiliations secret was that by this means they would avoid unfavorable discrimination in obtaining positions. There were enough such cases to justify us in concluding that this practice is a party technique, the real objectives and results of which seem to be quite different.

• • •

One objective, we conclude, is that this technique facilitates the achievement of a basic policy of the Communist party, viz. to get control, through the election of secret members to the directing committees, of as many types of functional organizations as possible, including trade unions, professional associations and broad nonparty organizations such as youth movements and civil liberties unions. Similarly, secret members or adherents of the Communist party may be used to take the lead in organizing new, broad, and ostensibly nonpolitical organizations, after which they obtain for themselves and other secret adherents key positions on controlling committees of the organization. By these means the technique of secret membership is calculated to facilitate essentially dishonest but not ineffective methods of propaganda in the interests of a foreign state.

One illustration of the use of this technique is furnished by the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers. Professor [Raymond] Boyer, in whose house the informal meetings at which the establishment of the organization were held, became national president. Norman Veall, upon whom we are also reporting, told us that he "took an active part in the formation of the organization"; and that he became a member of the National Executive Committee, charged with maintaining liaison with corresponding organizations in other countries. There is evidence suggesting that he used this position as a cover in making contacts with members of the staff of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. David Shugar testified that he had been very active in organizing and extending the Association and was elected a member of the Executive of the Ottawa Branch. In fact, Veall and Shugar each showed an inclination to claim credit for founding the Association. [Edward] Mazerall stated that the Association was something "which people in the study groups were interested in forming."

In addition to Boyer, Veall, and Shugar, Dr. Alan Nunn May and Frank Chubb, both of whose names figure in the espionage notebooks of Colonel Zabotin, hold or have held official positions on the Association's executive committees. Professor Boyer characterized the majority of other members of the executive as "LPP" (i.e. Labour-Progressive party or Communist) "or left-wing" in political ideology; though he stated that very few of the Association's large membership among scientists would share this political view.

The propaganda value of control of such an organization is illustrated by correspondence between Shugar and

Boyer discussing whether Shugar or Veall should write an article in *The Scientist*, the Association's magazine, regarding plans for the control of atomic energy.

Control by the Communist party over a broad organization such as the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers could be used in a variety of ways not only for propaganda purposes, but eventually as a base for recruiting adherents to that party from among scientists and in due course, no doubt, for recruiting additional espionage agents in key positions in the national life.

• • •

But there would appear to be a further basic object and result of this technique of secret membership of the Communist party organized in secret "cells" or study groups.

This object is to accustom the young Canadian adherent gradually to an atmosphere and an ethic of conspiracy. The general effect on the young man or woman over a period of time of *secret* meetings, *secret* acquaintances, and *secret* objectives, plans, and policies can easily be imagined. The technique seems calculated to develop the psychology of a double life and double standards.

To judge from much of the evidence, the secret adherent is apparently encouraged never to be honest or frank, outside the secret "cell" meetings, about his real political attitudes or views and apparently is led to believe that frankness in these matters is the equivalent of dangerous indiscretion and a potential menace to the organization as a whole.

Thus in a preliminary report which Lunan wrote on March 28, 1945, to Lt. Col. Rogov, he referred to a "cell" or study group in Ottawa to which Durnford Smith, Halperin, and Mazerall belonged, as follows:

> they already feel the need for maintaining a very high degree of security and taking abnormal precautions at their normal meetings (about once every two weeks) since they are definitely not labeled with any political affiliations. One or two have even opposed the introduction of new members to our group on the grounds that it would endanger their own security.

This describes precautions taken by this group *before* any of the members were asked to engage in espionage or other illegal activities.

Evidence that this technique of secrecy among Communist party membership is favored—if indeed it had not been inaugurated—by Moscow, is found in a telegram dated August 22, 1945, from The Director to Zabotin, which reads in part:

> To Grant
>
> 1. Your 243.
>
> We have here no compromising data against Veall, nevertheless the fact that he has in his hands a letter of recommendation from a corporant who was arrested in England (which he did not take care to destroy) compels us to refuse to have any contact with him whatsoever, the more so that many already call him "a Red."

(Corporant is a cover-name used for a member of any Communist party except that of the U.S.S.R.)

An inevitable result of this emphasis on a conspiratorial atmosphere and behavior even in political discussions, correspondence, and meetings, which are in themselves perfectly legal and indeed are the cherished right of everyone in a democratic society, would seem to be the gradual disintegration of normal moral principles such as frankness, honesty, integrity, and a respect for the sanctity of oaths.

We believe that this technique played a definite part in bringing persons . . . to a state of mind where they could disregard the moral obligations which they had undertaken in connection with their public duties.

A reading of the evidence before us, taken as a whole, indicates also that this technique seems calculated to affect gradually and unconsciously the secret adherent's attitude towards Canada. Often some of the agents seem to have begun their Communist associations through a burning desire to reform and improve Canadian society according to their lights. But one effect of prolonged habituation to conspiratorial methods and the conditions of secrecy in which these people work is to isolate them from the great mass of the Canadian people.

• • •

As the courses of study in the "cells" undermine gradually the loyalty of the young man or woman who joins them, it is necessary to say something as to the content of the courses pursued in them, as that is reflected by the evidence.

The curriculum includes the study of political and philosophic works, some of them far from superficial, selected to develop in the students an essentially critical attitude towards Western democratic society. This phase of the preparation also includes a series of discussions on current affairs designed to further a critical attitude toward the ideals of democratic society.

But this curriculum would appear in reality to be designed not to promote social reform where it might be required, but to weaken the loyalty of the group member towards his or her own society as such.

Linked with these studies at all stages, moreover, goes an organized indoctrination calculated to create in the mind of the study group member an essentially uncritical acceptance at its face value of the propaganda of a foreign state.

Accordingly, the study groups are encouraged to subscribe to Communist books and periodicals. The *Canadian Tribune* and *Clarion* of Toronto, *New Masses* (a periodical published in the United States), *National Affairs* of Toronto, and *Club Life* have been among those mentioned as regular objects of study and discussion in these groups, as well as selected books on Russia.

In some cases the effect of these study courses seems to be a gradual development of a sense of divided loyalties, or in extreme cases of a transferred loyalty.

Thus it seems to happen that through these study groups some adherents, who begin by feeling that Canadian society is not democratic or not equalitarian enough for their taste, are gradually led to transfer a part or most of their loyal ties to another country, apparently without reference to whether that other country is in actual fact more or less democratic or equalitarian than Canada.

Indeed, a sense of internationalism seems in many cases to play a definite role in one stage of the courses. In these cases the Canadian sympathizer is first encouraged to develop a sense of loyalty, not directly to a foreign state, but to what he conceives to be an international ideal. This subjective internationalism is then usually linked almost inextricably through the indoctrination courses and the intensive exposure to the propaganda of a particular foreign state, with the current conception of the national interests of that foreign state and with the current doctrines and policies of Communist parties throughout the world.

e.g. Professor Boyer stated that he gave secret information to Fred Rose despite the oath of secrecy which he had taken, believing that this step would further "international scientific collaboration."

Professor Boyer had not apparently inquired about the operations in practice of the various official organizations engaged in attempting to organize exchanges of military and other information with the Soviet Union, nor about the degree of reciprocity or relative balance developed in such official exchanges, nor about the relative merits of various possible methods of increasing international cooperation in scientific and other fields. His approach to the general question of increasing international scientific cooperation thus appears to us to have been relatively uniformed and unscientific, as well as singularly presumptuous and undemocratic in arrogating to himself by secret action the sole right of decision on such matters affecting all the people of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. His actions also involved a breach of oath. We see, however, no reason to doubt the sincerity of his motives as stated by himself. This sincerity was played on successfully by an unscrupulous and more sophisticated agent.

In Mazerall's case also, his desire to

further international scientific collaboration was among the complex of emotions successfully played upon by those who brought him into the espionage network. Mazerall, whose testimony as to his motivation seems to us to have been frank and sincere, stated in evidence:

> A. At the same time I did not like the idea of supplying information. It was not put to me so much that I was supplying information to the Soviet government, either. It was more that as scientists we were pooling information, and I actually asked him if we could hope to find this reciprocal.
>
> Q. Did you ever have that experience?
>
> A. I did not; no.
>
> Q. Have you ever known of information of any kind being supplied by Russia?
>
> A. Very little.

A further objective, pursued through the study group, is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the party hierarchy. This is apparently accomplished through a constant emphasis, in the indoctrination courses, on the importance of organization *as such*, and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the new adherent or sympathizer, of an overriding moral sense of "loyalty to the party." This "loyalty to the party" in due course takes the place in the member's mind of the earlier loyalty to certain principles professed by the party propaganda.

In view of the rigidly hierarchic organization of the Communist party, particularly in its secret sections, the concept of "loyalty to the party" means in practice, rigid obedience of adherents to those party members who are recognized as occupying a senior position in the hierarchy. . . .

The indoctrination courses in the study groups are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the party" and "obedience to the party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen.

The case of Kathleen Willsher offers a striking illustration of the uses to which this attitude of "party loyalty" and obedience can be put by unscrupulous leaders, even when other aspects of the indoctrination courses have not been completely successful.

She had joined a secret "cell" of the Communist party and as early as 1935 agreed to give secret information, which she obtained from her work in the Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Ottawa. . . . She told us that she was given to understand . . . that this information was for the guidance of the National Executive of the Communist party of Canada.

She also said that when these requests, which she recognized were improper, were first put to her . . . she had some struggle with her conscience, but that after a few weeks' hesitation she decided to comply because as a member of the Communist party she felt that she was expected to do what she was asked regardless of any obligation which she might have in any other direction. . . . She testified:

> I felt that I should contrive to contribute something towards the helping of this policy, because I was very interested in it. I found it very difficult, and yet I felt I should try to help.

Miss Willsher's evidence, taken as a whole, shows that she felt her own position in the Communist party to be a relatively humble one, that her one important contribution to the cause of the party lay in the transmission of the secret information to which her official position gave her access, and that it was expected of her that she should not hesitate to make this information available on request to the party leadership.

• • •

In many cases prolonged membership in the Communist party seems to have resulted in a very high degree of discipline and to have induced a semi-military habit of largely unquestioning obedience to "orders" and "party policy." Such habits, once developed, naturally made the task of the espionage recruiting agents, who are senior members of that party, relatively simple.

It appears to be an established principle of at least the secret "cells" section of the Communist party that rejection of "party orders" entails automatic resignation or expulsion from the party. This principle in itself assists in inducing obedience from members who might otherwise be inclined to waver, but who have become habituated over a period of months or years to membership.

• • •

. . . Leaders of the Fifth Column solved what would appear at first sight to be their most difficult problem—that of motivation, or finding capable and well-placed Canadians who would be willing to engage in espionage against Canada for a foreign power—by means of a widespread system of propaganda and in particular by organizing a system of intensive study groups. This system has been functioning for years and was already a going concern used for espionage in 1935.

• • •

A further technical advantage, which this system has provided to the leading organizers of the espionage network, has been a surprising degree of security from detection. By concentrating their requests to assist in espionage within the membership of secret sections of the Communist party, the leaders were apparently able to feel quite confident—and apparently with reason based on an experience in Canada over a period of at least eleven years—that even if the adherent or member should refuse to engage in activities so clearly illegal and which constitute so clear a betrayal of his or her own country—such adherent or member would in any case not consider denouncing the espionage recruiting agent to the Canadian public or to the Canadian authorities.

[For a significant example, Kathleen Willsher was first asked in 1935 to supply secret information at a regular meeting of her study group. For four years she transmitted such information orally at the study group meetings. While the conversations were private, Miss Willsher testified that no particular precautions were taken against being overheard "*as no one else would have been interested.*"]

It is significant that not a single one of the several Canadians, members or adherents of the Communist party (Labour-Progressive party), who were approached by senior members of that party to engage in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, reported this approach to the agencies, departments, or armed forces of Canada in which they were employed.

Not one even of those who have described, in evidence before us, serious hesitation and struggles with their consciences which they underwent before they agreed to act as spies against Canada, ever suggested to us that they contemplated taking the one loyal or legal course of action—i.e. reporting the criminal request to the Canadian authorities.

This is a striking illustration of the efficiency of the Communist study groups in inducing a motivation for clearly illegal party assignments directed against Canada.

What appears from the evidence to be the real purpose of the study group or "cell" organization—as a wide and ever-expanding base for the recruiting, psychological development, and organization of a Fifth Column operating in the interests of a foreign power—would have been frustrated if rank and file members of these groups or junior adherents of the Communist party of Canada had been aware of the real objectives and policies of [the organizers] and the other senior members of the conspiracy.

The evidence we have heard shows that at each stage of "development" the adherent is kept in ignorance of the wider ramifications and real objectives of the organization, to one of the fringes of which he has allowed himself to be attached.

Indeed it appears from the evidence that some at least of the adherents recruited to study groups are not told that these groups are in reality secret "cells"

or units of the Communist party; e.g. Mazerall testified that he was first invited by a friend to join an informal discussion group and that he did not for a considerable period recognize that it was in reality a secret Communist "cell," although he later knew it to have been such.

Kathleen Willsher was first a member of a group discussing the "difference between socialism and communism" and after a few years joined a smaller secret group of Communists.

Any small study group, however called, which will allow more experienced Communists to influence and simultaneously to study the psychological development of potential "recruits" will do in the early stages of the new recruit's "development."

• • •

The extent of the secret section of the Communist party is not normally disclosed at any time to the junior members of the secret groups, who know only the four or five other members of their own group. The leader of each such group, who attends secret meetings of five or six such group leaders will know them plus the secret "chairman" of these meetings. . . .

However, over a period of time secret members will get to know many others through joint participation in various "front organizations" and otherwise, though they may not know the extent of their "development" unless designated to work with them for some purpose of the party leaders.

It is, apparently, not the present practice for secret members of the party to fill out any membership forms, or sign any declaration, or to be given any membership cards. This relatively loose system obviously assists in maintaining the secrecy of the organization. But it appears also to play a role in the expansion of the organization, since at each stage of his "development" the adherent is allowed to feel that he is still politically independent and merely assisting in the general activities of the movement without taking at any time what he might consider to be a specific and binding step to acquire or ratify definite membership. This technique allows the development courses to proceed and to have their gradual effect on the adherent without raising any unnecessary resistance in the adherent's mind to any specific stage of early development.

Thus even Boyer, Mazerall, and Lunan, the last-named an active espionage recruiting agent, apparently felt that they had not allowed themselves to become full members of the Communist party, though they had paid "dues" for years, because they had at no time signed membership documents or taken out membership cards.

Boyer, who stated that he joined a Communist study group in 1939, said when asked to explain his relations with the Communist party:

> A. I have worked in organizations in which there were Communists and in which I knew there were Communists, and I have worked very closely with Communists, but I have never held a party card or paid dues, etc.
>
> Q. Have you ever made contributions to the work of the Communist party?
>
> A. I made contributions.
>
> Q. Financial contributions?
>
> A. Yes.

Apparently at each stage of "development" the adherent is carefully kept from an appreciation of the nature of tasks likely to be assigned to him when he is considered adequately "developed" for the next stage.

Apparently also many even among relatively senior and "developed" secret members of the Communist party are kept unaware of the nature and existence of specifically illegal activities, directed against Canada, which are carried on by a section of the organization which they support. Indeed, most persons actively engaged in such illegal activities are apparently given to understand that their activities are exceptional and are kept quite unaware of the extent to which they have been carried on by top leaders. . . . In view of the "leader principle," that is, the established principle of obedience to higher party authorities, such unawareness among most members of the organization would not hinder the organization's efficiency for Fifth Column purposes.

For example Lunan, who undertook . . . to organize a group of espionage agents, was given to understand that the only persons engaged in this illegal activity would be himself, the three Canadian scientists whose espionage activities he directed, and Rogov of the Soviet Embassy. In testifying before us as to his motivation, which he stated was directly linked with his political ideology, he said:

> I would also like to say that I had no idea of the scope and extent of this work. I was amazed when it first became clear to me during my interrogation. I never thought of myself as being more than one person in a small group of five people.
>
> I do not offer this in any sense as an excuse for my work, but I was striving to square myself with my ideals without a full knowledge of the position in which I really found myself.

• • •

Regarding the original attraction of Canadians to the "development" courses or study group organizations, it is difficult to speak with certainty. The appeal naturally varied greatly with each individual. In some cases it lay apparently in the highly systematized metaphysical concepts used by the Communist party in its propaganda directed to certain types of "intellectuals" and students. Thus Durnford Smith, when asked what it was that attracted him to the movement, replied: *"the logic of it."*

A factor which appears to have played a part in first attracting at least one of the Canadian espionage agents whose evidence we have heard, was the belief that through these study groups he could fight against the social evils of anti-Semitism and racial intolerance. Cerson said:

> I consider myself as a second-class Canadian—not as a first-class Canadian. That is not a laughing matter, Mr. Commissioner; it is very serious.

He elucidated this point:

> Q. You have been speaking about communism and you also mentioned fascism. What is your idea of the difference, if any, between communism and fascism?
>
> A. Well, my idea is that it would be based on a question of anti-Semitism.
>
> Q. I see.
>
> A. You see, we were very active at that time. There was the danger of Hitler; we realized it. The doctor and his wife were over in Germany in 1931; he went to University there and we realized it.
>
> Q. What doctor?
>
> A. Dr. Gottlieb; that is the [husband of the] sister of the Schlein family. We realized what was going to happen. We saw what happened in Montreal and Kirkland Lake where people were parading in blue shirts and sticking signs in windows, and we felt we should do something about it. . . . I mean it was from that; it was not from an economic point of view. It was from the point of view of self-preservation. We figured that if we were considered as good Canadians here a law should be passed to make that illegal.

The evidence before us strongly suggests that anti-Semitism and the natural reaction of persons of Jewish origin to racial discrimination was one of the factors played upon by the Communist recruiting agents. It is significant that a number of the documents from the Russian Embassy specifically note "*Jew*" or "*Jewess*" in entries on their relevant Canadian agents or prospective agents, showing that the Russian Fifth Column leaders attached particular significance to this matter.*

In some cases a desire for companionship and intellectual discussion may have played its part. With certain per-

(Continued on Page 58)

*EDITOR'S NOTE:

Communist intent to exploit Jews is complemented by their effort to exploit and further befuddle the lunatic fringe of anti-Semites. One "Politicus," in a manner obviously Communist-inspired, says in a recent issue of an anti-Semite periodical:

"The Russians are kicking the Jews out of Russia. . . . A new world leading culture with civilization will be born—the Russian. It is a historical process, which cannot be stopped at all. Neither A-bomb, nor H-bomb, nor 'wisdom' Bernard Baruch's and Lazar Kaganovich's will stop it. . . . American white gentiles will not do anything to spoil that historical process. . . ."

It was predictable that Judaeophobes would eventually side with the Soviet Union against the United States, on the basis of the geographical fact that there are more Jews in New York than there are in Moscow. But such blatant Marxism and scarcely-concealed appeal to treason in what the naive regard as a 100 per cent American variety of lunacy is startling.

Status of Forces Treaty

by Dan Smoot

—Wide World Photo

Do you approve of the Status of Forces Treaty?

• • •

As usual, let's examine the question from two opposite points of view, taking first the arguments of those who say *yes*.

• • •

THE formal pacts establishing NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—a multilateral alliance between the United States and thirteen other countries—were signed in Washington on April 4, 1949.

As soon as we began to implement the purposes of this alliance by stationing large numbers of American troops in friendly European nations, we discovered that the presence of our troops—during times of peace—created innumerable frictions.

There is, naturally, some local resentment against the Americans merely because they are foreigners.

Another understandable irritant is the comparative wealth and easy living of the American soldiers.

An American army private stationed near some European village is frequently better housed, better clothed, better nourished, than the most prominent of local citizens.

The normal human resentment which such a situation will always generate is being perpetually prodded by Europeans who simply do not like Americans. Some of these are Communists; some are like our own narrow-minded reactionaries who just don't like foreigners; and some merely have their own special phobia against America.

Imagine how quickly this temperature of local resentment can rise to the dangerous boiling point when some American soldier commits an offense or outrage against a local citizen.

Anti-American agitators have only to point out that these American soldiers who live so riotously and ostentatiously are above local laws; that European citizens have no defense against the lawlessness of American soldiers, because American soldiers are not answerable to European laws: they are answerable only to their commanding officer who, unless he happens to have a tender regard for the foreigners among whom he is serving, will certainly not exert himself to restrain his soldiers!

This condition was jeopardizing the whole NATO program—in which the United States was to invest billions of dollars; on which the defense of western Europe depended.

Our costly efforts to create good will, harmonious cooperation, and singleness of purpose among our friends in NATO could be nullified by a few heedless American soldiers going on a weekend binge.

FOREIGN LAWS FOR AMERICANS?

If the American army turns 25,000 American soldiers loose on Paris for a weekend and then tells the French officials that they cannot protect their own people against any acts of lawlessness on the part of any of those soldiers, the French don't feel that they are being treated like an equal and friendly partner in a grand alliance.

The solution to this knotty problem is obvious: give the French officials criminal jurisdiction over those Americans, so that American soldiers and their families will be subject to the same laws as the French people among whom they live.

This is exactly what we have done—not only with regard to France, but with regard to other nations where American soldiers are stationed.

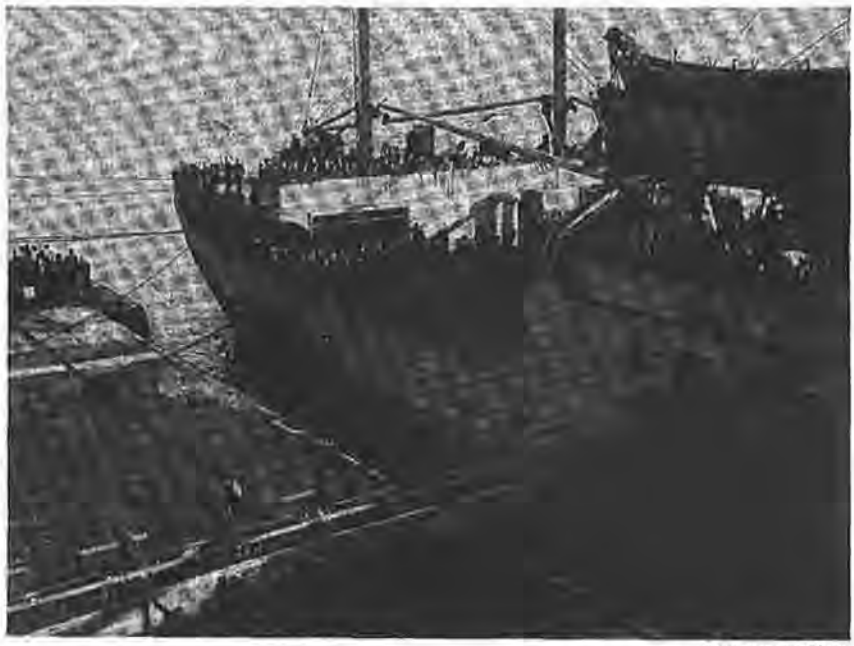
At the outset of the NATO alliance, our State Department negotiated, with all of the nations involved, temporary executive agreements concerning the problem of criminal jurisdiction over American soldiers and members of their families.

The agreements were not uniform in all countries, however. They created some jealousy among our allies—some of whom felt that we were making more favorable agreements with other NATO members than with them. And numerous difficulties arose in applying the various, different agreements.

When General Eisenhower arrived in Europe as Supreme Commander of NATO, he instantly saw and understood the problem.

Taking advice from and working very closely with General Eisenhower, our State Department officials worked out formal treaty agreements to standardize and simplify the various executive agreements already in operation.

During 1951 and 1952, representatives of the fourteen NATO countries met and signed three treaties dealing with problems which had arisen under the NATO alliance. These treaties, drawn up during the Truman adminis-



—Wide World Photo

U.S. occupation forces debark from Bremerhaven Port of Embarkation for assignment within the U.S. Zone.

tration, were submitted to the Senate for ratification in 1953.

One of the treaties defined the status of the military headquarters of NATO. Another defined the status of the diplomatic representatives in NATO, guaranteeing them proper immunity from prosecution in foreign courts. A third prescribed the civil and criminal status of members of the armed forces of one NATO country while stationed in another NATO country.

This third treaty, called the Status of Forces agreement, includes a provision known as Article VII, which gives a NATO nation exclusive criminal jurisdiction, within its borders, over foreign NATO soldiers who commit crimes while off duty.

This means that an American soldier stationed in France, Turkey, Italy, Portugal—in any of the thirteen NATO countries—who commits a crime while off duty, can be arrested, tried, sentenced, and punished under the laws of that nation without any recourse or appeal to American military authorities, American courts, or the American government.

If the American is actually arrested by American military police, he must be surrendered immediately to local authorities. Local authorities can, in fact, request American military authorities to arrest American military personnel suspected of crimes.

If there is any question as to whether the soldier was on or off duty when he committed the crime, the question will be resolved by a specially appointed judge of the country where the crime occurred.

If the soldier was unmistakably on duty when he committed the crime, then the American army and the foreign government have concurrent or equal jurisdiction. Whether the soldier is tried by American officials or by foreign officials depends somewhat on who arrests him first, and on the circumstances of the individual case.

And, of course, the agreement is reciprocal. In giving foreign nations this kind of jurisdiction over our troops abroad, we acquire the same jurisdiction over their troops stationed here.

The Status of Forces Treaty was vigorously supported by President Eisenhower, by the liberal wing of the Republican party, by all progressive Democrats, and by all liberal elements in America.

In urging ratification of the Status of Forces Treaty, President Eisenhower wrote:

"I can certainly appreciate the concern of those who fear that these agreements might subject American soldiers to systems of criminal justice foreign to our own traditions. I do not share such fears, however, because of the many years' experience I have had in command of American troops overseas. This experience convinces me that our friends abroad will continue to cooperate, as they have in the past, in turning over those charged with offenses against their laws to our own military courts for trial."

A small isolationist group, headed by Senator Bricker of Ohio, tried to nullify the Status of Forces Treaty by removing Article VII from it.

The Bricker movement was defeated, however; and on July 15, 1953, by an overwhelming majority, the Senate ratified all three NATO treaties as submitted.

Seventy-two senators voted for the Status of Forces Treaty; fifteen voted against; nine senators did not vote.

The fifteen who voted against it: Bricker of Ohio; Dirksen of Illinois; Dworshak of Idaho; Jenner of Indiana; Malone of Nevada; McCarthy of Wisconsin; Schoeppel of Kansas; Welker of Idaho; Williams of Delaware; Frear of Maryland; Johnston of South Carolina; Long of Louisiana; McCarran of Nevada; Russell of Georgia; and Smathers of Florida.

The nine who did not vote: Butler of Maryland; Taft of Ohio; Chavez of New Mexico; Daniel of Texas; Fulbright of Arkansas; Kennedy of Massachusetts; Stennis of Mississippi; Morse of Oregon; and Kilgore of West Virginia.

The Status of Forces Treaty clarifies, specifies, and makes uniform the legal status of American soldiers in all NATO countries; and it provides a model for similar agreements with all other nations where American troops are stationed.

IMPROVES LEGAL STATUS

The treaty has actually improved the legal status of our troops abroad. It has obtained more concessions for our soldiers and their families — firmer guarantees of justice for them—than they previously enjoyed under the executive agreements before the treaty was formally ratified.

Should any case of suspected injustice arise, the American commanding officer can, through our State Department, request the authorities of the foreign state to waive jurisdiction over the case. If the foreign authorities fail to comply, the United States can consider withdrawal of its troops.

In short, an American on trial in a foreign country will have all those rights to which a citizen of that country is entitled.

This was the only adequate and equitable solution of a delicate problem. To insist on exclusive American jurisdiction would mean a ruthless trampling on the sovereignty and feelings of our good foreign friends.

It would be a needless insult to such civilized nations as France and England —an implication that their systems of jurisprudence are backward, barbaric, not good enough for Americans.

And it would give credibility to the claims of our enemies—that America is trying to gobble up and exploit smaller nations, reducing them to the status of satellites.

NATO is a mutual defense organization. We cannot, therefore, ask from others what we will not ourselves give.

If the reactionaries and superpatriots had their way, America would pursue rigid, nationalistic policies founded on the assumption that we Americans—just because we are strong—have the right to operate on a take-it-or-leave-it basis with the rest of the world.

If we insisted on setting American soldiers aloof from the citizens and above the laws of the foreign lands where they are serving, our forces abroad would no longer have the character of friends participating with their foreign brothers in a common cause.

They would be looked upon as conquering legions. America would be branded as a militaristic aggressor just as the Soviets are.

In the end, we would find ourselves hated, isolated, and alone in a dangerous totalitarian world.

• • •

That was one side. The other side will come next.

Here are views of some who *do not* approve of the Status of Forces Treaty.

• • •

THE Status of Forces Treaty abrogates basic constitutional rights of American soldiers serving on foreign soil. It repudiates one of America's oldest and finest traditions: namely, that the American flag and the protection of the American Constitution follow our soldiers wherever they go.

In America, any spy, subversive, or criminal of whatever kind is guaranteed a fair jury trial in open court. He can invoke the Fifth Amendment, refuse to testify, and heap abuse upon official representatives of our government. But an American soldier who is drafted and forced to serve abroad can now be arrested on trumped-up charges by foreign police officers, tried in a foreign court, sentenced and punished, without even having an American official present at his trial.

American soldiers, stationed in some forty-nine foreign nations, have been forced to give up their own careers, their own families, their own homes, to go abroad and serve the interests of foreign people. But this apparently is not enough. They must also be deprived of their most precious constitutional rights in order to keep our foreign friends friendly.

In the present administration, as under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, it is bad taste for America to stand up for American rights. We must always yield to the demands of our allies, or we will lose the privilege of squandering American blood and American treasure to defend our allies.

Administration leaders and internationalists in the Senate argued that if we did not accept this Status of Forces Treaty and permit American soldiers to be tried in foreign courts, our NATO alliance might break up. To an American who knows and cares anything about our constitutional system, and who has any pride in American traditions, it should be obvious that an alliance which can be held together only at the cost of destroying the inalienable rights of our own soldiers is not worth maintaining.

When urging the ratification of the Status of Forces Treaty, State Department officials promised that the treaty provisions would not set a precedent for agreements with any other nations except those in NATO.

The promise was silly and dishonest on its face. If the United States government will give away the rights of its own soldiers to thirteen of its so-called allies, what will it say to all its other allies who want similar arrangements?

The answer has already been given. Within a matter of weeks after the Status of Forces Treaty was ratified, our State Department—ignoring its own "no precedent" promises — used the treaty provisions as a precedent for negotiating executive agreements with Japan, giving the Japanese criminal jurisdiction over American servicemen and their families stationed in Japan.

Reflect on that for a moment. Some American serviceman who fought the savage Japanese from Guadalcanal to Okinawa now gets arrested by the Tokyo police and accused of committing a crime.

The American army can no longer take that soldier into custody and give him a fair trial in an American military court. The American army cannot even counsel with him or observe his trial to be sure that he gets a fair one. The army simply has to turn its back on the American soldier and let him get whatever Japanese justice wants to give him.

When the soldier's people back in the States discover that he has been sent to a Japanese prison for two years or five years or life, they frequently cannot even find out from their own government what the soldier did or what he was charged with. All that his wife and children know is that their army allotment has been cut off.

No one really knows how much of this has been going on. The Pentagon will not release figures—even to congressmen—on the number of American soldiers sentenced by foreign courts as a result of the Status of Forces agreements.

POLITICAL HEADS WOULD ROLL

Foreign governments, of course, already have these figures. They know how many Americans they have in jail.

Why, then—since they are not trying to keep this information from foreign governments — do Pentagon officials label it "top secret"? Obviously, to keep the American people ignorant of what is going on.

If the American public knew how many of our servicemen—and their wives—are in foreign prisons, with no American constitutional protection, political heads would roll.

The American voters would drive out of public office every person who recommended the Status of Forces Treaty, every senator who voted for it, and every senator who was either too cowardly or too busy to get up on the floor and register his vote on July 15,

—Wide World Photos

GIs IN EUROPE—Berlin orphans (upper left) are feted at a Christmas party arranged by L Company, U.S. Sixth Infantry Regiment. Bottom left, an American serviceman is entertained in the home of a German couple in Stuttgart, who responded to a campaign to invite occupation forces into their homes. At right, a corporal stops a German policeman for directions.

1953, when the Status of Forces Treaty was ratified.

From the scanty bits of information that have leaked out, we know that over 400 American citizens were sentenced by foreign courts in 1953.

We know that by November, 1954, over 1200 Americans were imprisoned in Japan alone.

We know that Mrs. Antonie Pierre, wife of an American serviceman in Japan, was indicted by Japanese authorities because her rented house accidentally caught on fire.

IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL

We know that two American army privates (Scott and Crews), involved in a beer-hall brawl in Sopporo, Japan, in April, 1954, were still in jail nine months later (and may still be in jail) —without ever having had a trial. You see, in Japan criminal cases are frequently adjourned and interminably delayed; and a defendant—even though he may later turn out to be innocent—stays in jail until the verdict is finally in.

Families of servicemen protest that their relatives are subjected to indignities, suffering, and denial of their rights as American citizens in Iceland—where the biggest political party is the Communist party; where the second biggest newspaper in the nation is a Communist newspaper; and where anti-American feeling is intensely bitter.

American servicemen are subjected to abuse and injustice in France—where one out of every four public officials is a Communist.

We have these Status of Forces agreements with Moslem countries, where the penalty for petty theft is to cut off the right hand of the offender.

In America, the Constitution protects everybody, citizens and aliens alike, from cruel and inhuman punishment. But if your boy is drafted and sent overseas, he doesn't have that protection. He could have his right hand cut off if he got involved in a silly prank and stole somebody's chicken.

We have this Status of Forces agreement with the Communist government of Yugoslavia. In every Communist country, of course, it is high treason to criticize the government in power. An American soldier who is caught in Yugoslavia criticizing communism could be sentenced to die.

There was absolutely no precedent in American tradition—or even in international law—for the thing we did in July, 1953, when we gave away the constitutional rights of our own soldiers.

When America was an infant nation, the great Chief Justice John Marshall—father of American jurisprudence—carefully spelled out the constitutional principle that service in the military forces shall not abridge or nullify an American's constitutional rights.

Our high officials today hold that it is all right to nullify constitutional rights of our soldiers overseas, because we can trust foreign governments to be fair.

BAD BARGAIN FOR AMERICA

No one wants an American soldier who commits a crime to go unpunished. But if our Constitution means anything, it means that every American, including soldiers, has a right to a fair public trial before fellow Americans.

It is true that some American soldiers stationed abroad are tough characters who do willfully violate law. But it is also true that most American soldiers stationed abroad are decent, homesick, frightened, and bewildered boys who were forced into military service and who have no means of defending themselves before a hostile court in an alien land.

President Eisenhower says that the Status of Forces Treaty is justified because it is reciprocal—that in giving up jurisdiction over our own soldiers, we acquired jurisdiction over foreign soldiers stationed here.

What every American ought to know is that American constitutional rights are not for sale or trade on any terms.

If the American government acquired jurisdiction over 100 million foreigners in exchange for sacrificing the constitutional rights of one American citizen, it would still be an immoral and unconstitutional deal.

But the Status of Forces Treaty was a bad bargain for America—even if we ignore principles and make a factual comparison of what we gave with what we got.

There are no foreign troops stationed in America. Altogether, there may be in the United States as many as 15,000 foreigners here on some kind of military mission—as observers, experts, or special trainees. On the other hand, there are approximately one million American troops stationed abroad. In acquiring jurisdiction over 15,000 visiting foreigners, we nullified the constitutional rights of more than one million American soldiers.

Suppose one of the 15,000 foreigners does get in trouble here in the United States?

Whoever he is, he gets the full protection of the American Constitution. He must be represented by counsel; he must have time to prepare his defense; he must have a full explanation of all charges made against him; he must be faced by his accusers in open court; he must be permitted to subpoena, at government expense, whatever witnesses he needs to defend himself; he cannot be compelled to testify against himself.

But an American soldier in trouble abroad is at the mercy of people whose language he may not speak, and who may hate him merely because he is an American.

He has no guarantee of a public trial, or even a trial by jury; no right of appeal; no guarantee of freedom of speech; no protection against unreasonable searches and seizures; no protection against excessive bail or excessive fines; no presumption that he is innocent until he is proven guilty; no requirement that his guilt must be proven beyond reasonable doubt.

That is how reciprocal the Status of Forces Treaty is.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS BETRAYED

If the senators who betrayed the rights of American soldiers by ratifying this treaty need to salve their conscience, they can, of course, remember the warning of Bedell Smith, old army friend of Eisenhower, who was Undersecretary of State when the Status of Forces Treaty was under consideration.

While testifying before a Senate committee in behalf of this treaty, Bedell Smith let the senators know that they might just as well ratify the thing, because if they didn't, the executive would continue handling the problems as it did during the Truman administration —by secret agreements.

We are approaching the midnight hour in the history of American constitutional government; but the hour is not yet too late. The American people can have their Republic and their Constitution back if they are not too lazy and indifferent to find out what is going on, or too cowardly to stand up and be counted.

They can demand the revocation of the Status of Forces Treaty and of all the other shadowy, ill-conceived, and evil entanglements which are sucking this nation into a bottomless quicksand of war and international power politics.

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HARDY BURT:

Max Eastman's latest book will surely be blasted to the high heavens by many critics or given the old silent treatment. I don't believe, however, many of the critics will be able to ignore this book, *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*. It's entirely too blunt and frank and provocative.

For example, in the first chapter right at the outset Mr. Eastman states, and I quote him, "Almost everyone who cares earnestly about freedom is aroused against the Communists. But it is not only the Communists, it is in a more subtle way the Socialists who are blocking the efforts of the free world to recover its poise and its once firm resistance to tyranny."

Mr. Eastman, I know you explain this reference to Socialists in your new book, but I wonder if you would tell us in person your reasons for blaming not only Communists but Socialists for undermining freedom and upholding tyranny?

MAX EASTMAN:

To be specific, the Socialists in Italy, combining with the Communists, overthrew De Gasperi's government and De Gasperi was one of the wisest statesmen defending free enterprise in Europe. The Socialists, combining with the Communists in France, refusing to collaborate with the capitalists, have prevented the formation of any stable government. The Socialists in Norway have put on the most authoritarian regime to be found this side of the Iron Curtain. The Socialists in England prevented England from repeating the miracle of recovery which astonished the world and her defeated enemy Germany.

The references you have now made to Socialists is socialism in Europe. What about the Socialists in America such as those, say, represented by Norman Thomas, who received such beautiful accolades as a great American from the liberal press on his recent birthday—what about socialism in America?

I don't know whether you want me to talk about Norman Thomas or socialism in America. If we stick to socialism in America, the fact is that Norman Thomas has retired from active political leadership. The Socialist party in America didn't amount to enough for him to stick by it. That's because the Socialists as a general body abandoned their party and joined in the Democratic party with the effort to win progress towards socialism by collaborating with the Democratic party.

Mr. Eastman, I deliberately did not read your book very, very carefully. I scanned through it, and the reason I didn't read it very carefully is because then I would know the answers to all of the questions that I wanted to pose for you—that would sort of cramp my style. I do want to say that I think it's vividly written, dramatic, and easy to read, and I'm looking forward to reading it from the samples I've taken.

The reason I'm explaining this is I noticed one little reference that you made in there to Fabian socialism. Too many of our listeners may not really know what the term is, Fabian socialism. Would you explain what you mean by that reference?

Fabian socialism was a movement in England started by Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and others to win a Socialist state not by revolution or even strictly speaking, by the labor class struggle, but by a gradual infiltration in other parties and also suppressing the word *socialism*.

They succeeded—they succeeded in pretty near wrecking the prosperity of the British Empire, I think, or of England at any rate. But it took them about seventy-five years. But they did it and that's what the Socialists here are doing now, most of them.

Famous Author of "*Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*" gives interview to FACTS FORUM'S Hardy Burt

MAX EASTMAN

Back in the early 1920's Max Eastman was one of America's most ardent champions of socialism. His decision to alter his political beliefs was not hastily conceived. It involved many years of research and study of philosophy, economics and political science, the history of man and his civilizations, and into human nature itself.

His quest led him to probe into the political scene in America, in Europe, and to live for two years among the Bolsheviks in Russia.

***State of the Nation* radio program featured Max Eastman as its guest, and presented an authoritative disclosure of his book and his life.**

Now, do you say that we have Fabian socialism in this country—that socialism is in disguise in other forms of our government?

Yes, except that there was a regular Fabian organization in England with that program.

Well, what is this? Disorganized Fabian socialism infiltration?

That's a good phrase. I wish I had that when I wrote my book.

Why did you come to the conclusion after many years of being devoted to socialism that socialism was wrong; that it wouldn't work?

The first shock came in Moscow when I saw what happened as the result of Lenin's party seizure of power there, the gradual emergence of a dictatorial party and totalitarian regime. That made me start investigating the subject, but it took me an awful long time. It took me fifteen years to find out that the socialist hypothesis, as I call it, had been disproven by an experiment.

How was it disproven? What was the experiment?

Because everywhere it happens the freedom of men disappears progressively even though in some cases and to some extent their equality increases.

Didn't you say something in your book about the socialist doctrine, if it is to be made to work, demands a state apparatus and planning?

(Continued on Page 45)

The Untold OPPENHEIMER STORY

By PAUL CROUCH

Recognizing a *Life* magazine cover photo of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Paul Crouch realized that the A-bomb expert was the "very famous scientist" he had first met at a Communist party meeting in California and previously known only as Professor Z. Even more positive identification was made after Crouch and his wife Sylvia saw Oppenheimer in a *March of Time* film. Aided by the FBI, Crouch sought to identify the house where he had first met Oppenheimer in 1941, where the new Communist party line was unreeled to special Red section units. Crouch says, "An agent of the FBI gave me a great surprise. He told me that the house had been occupied at the time of the 1941 meeting... by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his wife Katherine."

Part III

After the discovery that the 1941 special section meeting had been held in a house occupied by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Mr. Combs and I gave greater attention to the backgrounds of the scientist and his wife, and to his associations with people like Steve Nelson and Dr. Joseph Weinberg. Both men already had been identified in House Committee reports as having been actively engaged in atomic espionage for the Soviet Union.

We learned that Dr. Oppenheimer's associations with the Communists had continued long after the meeting at his home in the summer of 1941. During the war years, when Dr. Oppenheimer was in charge of atomic bomb research, he had repeatedly entertained Steve Nelson in his home. It must be remembered that Nelson was one of the leading Reds in the United States, trained in Moscow's espionage schools, and had been a lieutenant colonel in the Communist army in Spain during the civil war there.

Here was the man in charge of making the atomic bomb, entertaining one of the leading agents in charge of stealing the secrets of that bomb for the Soviet Union! And Dr. Oppenheimer knew the facts about Nelson's background and his position at that moment as a leading official in the Red apparatus. It was like a bank president entertaining a known bank robber in his home.

We found that Dr. Oppenheimer had many radical associates in New York before he and his brother Frank moved to California. *One was Arthur Kallet, head of Consumers Union, the Communist front that Walter M. Trumbull had helped to set up.* This important Communist-controlled organization was in its infancy when Dr. Oppenheimer came to the West Coast. From the time of his arrival he was the outstanding leader in California for the Red front. The committee files contained evidence (first made public at the 1954 AEC hearings) that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer had attended a Communist meeting in his brother's home. I know of evidence of other meetings, even more important, that has not yet been made available to the public.

One of the most serious links in the chain was the large number of Communists who had been employed for work on development of the atomic bomb under Dr. Oppenheimer. One was Lloyd Lehman, one of the leading Communists in the county, who is known to have been associated with Dr. Oppenheimer as early as 1940. After his connections with development of the bomb, Lehman became the open and official Communist organizer for Alameda County—the position I had held in 1941 and Steve Nelson in 1942-43. Among those who have been identified as Communists who worked on the bomb were Dr. Joseph Weinberg, Dr. Bernard Peters, Professor David Hawkins, Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, David Bohm, Irving David Fox, Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, Max Bernard Friedman and Robert R. Davis, as well as many others who could be named.

In the East, Professor Clarence Hiskey, who belonged to the Communist party in Tennessee when I was the State Organizer there, was one of those employed in development of the atomic bomb. Of those named, only Robert Davis has given what I regard as the only real evidence of a break with communism — full and open testimony and direct answers to all questions about his former membership and all of his associates.

Looking at Dr. Oppenheimer's postwar record, we found that he had done everything possible to lead the American people into the false and fatal belief that the bomb was an American monopoly. He also tried to put across the absurd theory that even "if" the Russians had the know-how, they could never make the bomb.

The San Francisco Chronicle of February 8, 1947, had quoted Dr. Oppenheimer as saying "... real atom bomb 'secret' is safe ... yet it is my opinion that even if we threw the books wide open and showed the Russians, for instance, all the facts and figures we have, it would only confuse them."

Could anyone as intelligent and well informed as Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer be that stupid and naive? Could one who had spent years in close association with traitors like Steve Nelson, William Schneiderman and others make such a colossal mistake in underestimating the Soviet government and world communism? One must be charitable indeed, with unbounded faith in human beings, to be able to give "yes" answers to such questions.

When we turned from the background of Dr. Oppenheimer to that of his wife Katherine, we found almost a blank page. Little was known about her. Congressional reports had made mention of the fact that a former husband had been killed while serving in the Communist "Abraham Lincoln" Brigade in Spain, and that after his death in action Steve Nelson, a lieutenant colonel in the Red forces, had "befriended" her. Also, the reports indicated that after her marriage to Dr. Oppenheimer she had introduced Steve Nelson to him. But all reports avoided mention of the name of the former husband who had been killed in Spain.

Reference books made mention of Dr. Oppenheimer's marriage to *Katherine Harrison* in November, 1940. There was no published inference that she had been married more than once before she

(Continued on Page 28)

—United Press Photo

Paul Crouch and his wife Sylvia

In Behalf of OPPENHEIMER

Testimony of GEORGE F. KENNAN

Former Russian Ambassador Kennan, Soviet affairs specialist, served with the U.S. Foreign Service for twenty-seven years prior to his retirement in July, 1953. Upon retirement, he became affiliated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

His background: In 1928 he served as vice-consul in Geneva and Hamburg and then was selected as one of the first group to be trained at the University of Berlin for special work in the Soviet field. He was a reporting officer in Berlin—first in the legation of Riga before the U.S. established diplomatic relations with Russia, and after 1933 in the Moscow Embassy. Other service included work in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Portugal. From 1947 to 1950, he was Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. He is usually considered the author of the Policy of Containment.

Selections from Mr. Kennan's testimony before the AEC Personnel Security Board (Gray Board) April 20, 1954, follow. Interrogator: Herbert S. Marks, cocounsel for Dr. Oppenheimer.

Q. In what connections have you known Dr. Oppenheimer?

A. I first met Dr. Oppenheimer . . . at the National War College here in Washington in 1946. Dr. Oppenheimer lectured there. I was in charge of political instruction generally. . . .

I then took over this responsibility as head of the Policy Planning Staff in the Department of State . . . I met Dr. Oppenheimer on numbers of occasions in the course of my work. . . . The main fields with which I was concerned were those of the international control of atomic energy and the straightening out of our relations with our own allies, particularly the British and the Canadians, in matters affecting our ability to obtain raw materials for the conduct of our atomic energy program here. . . .

I sat several times at least in rooms here in government offices with Dr. Oppenheimer and participated in consultations in which he also participated. Some of those meetings I chaired. I remember at least one which he chaired. It depended on where we met.

Q. Were these matters on which you sat of importance? How would you describe them?

A. I would describe them as matters of the greatest delicacy and of, I think, quite vital importance to the conduct of our entire atomic energy program in this country. They were all matters which were given the highest possible security classification at the time, and I do not recall that we ever had any leaks about them. They were conducted in complete secrecy.

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Q. As a result of your experience with Dr. Oppenheimer . . . what convictions, if any, did you form about him?

—Wide World Photo

George F. Kennan

A. I formed the conviction that he was an immensely useful person in the councils of our government, and I felt a great sense of gratitude that we had his help. I am able to say that in the course of all these contacts and deliberations within the government, I never observed anything in his conduct or his words that could possibly, it seemed to me, have indicated that he was animated by any other motives than a devotion to the interests of this country.

Q. Did you ever observe anything that would possibly have suggested to you that he was taking positions that the Russians would have liked?

A. No, I cannot say that I did in any way. After all, the whole purpose of these exercises was to do things which were in the interest of this country, not in the interests of the Soviet Union, at least not in the interests of the Soviet Union as their leaders saw it at that time. Anyone who collaborated sincerely and enthusiastically in the attempt to reach our objectives, which Dr. Oppenheimer did, obviously was not serving Soviet purposes in any way.

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Q. Mr. Kennan, is there any possibility in your mind that he was dissembling?

A. There is in my mind no possibility that Dr. Oppenheimer was dissembling.

Q. How do you know that? How can anybody know that?

A. I realize that is not an assertion that one could make with confidence about everyone. If I make it with regard to Dr. Oppenheimer it is because I feel and believe that after years of seeing him in various ways, not only there in government but later as an associate and a neighbor and a friend at Princeton, I know his intellectual make-up and something of his personal make-up and I consider it really out of the question that any man could have participated as he did in these discussions, could have bared his thoughts to us time after time in the way that he did, could have thought those thoughts, so to speak, in our presence and have been at the same time dissembling.

I realize that is still not wholly the answer. The reason I feel it is out of the question that could have happened is that I believed him to have an intellect of such a nature that it would be impossible for him to speak dishonestly about any subject to which he had given his deliberate and careful and professional attention.

That is the view I hold of him. I have the greatest respect for Dr. Oppenheimer's mind. I think it is one of the great minds of this generation of Americans. A mind like that is not without its implications.

Q. Without its what?

A. Implications for a man's general personality. I think it would be actually the one thing probably in life that Dr. Oppenheimer could never do, that is, to speak dishonestly about a subject which had really engaged the responsible attention of his intellect. My whole impression of him is that he is a man who, when he turns his mind to something in an orderly and responsible way, examines it with the most extraordinary scrupulousness and fastidiousness of intellectual process.

I must say that I cannot conceive that in these deliberations in government he could have been speaking disingenuously to us about these matters. I would suppose that you might just as well have

asked Leonardo da Vinci to distort an anatomical drawing as that you should ask Robert Oppenheimer to speak responsibly to the sort of questions we were talking about, and speak dishonestly.

• • •

Q. An incident is referred to in 1943, in which it is said that an approach to Dr. Oppenheimer was made under circumstances suggesting that the approach was somehow connected with a possible effort by the Russians to secure information or to secure information in their behalf, and that for some months thereafter he failed to report this incident.

What effect does that failure on his part, which he freely admits was wrong, have on your present thinking about it?

A. Mr. Marks, I have testified about him here as I have known him. I can well understand that at earlier periods in his life conflicts of conscience might have arisen, as I think they could with any sensitive person, between his feelings about his friends—perhaps his pity for them—and his governmental duties. On the other hand, I would also be inclined to bear in mind the fact that in 1943 the Soviet Union was hardly regarded by our top people in our government as an enemy—that great masses of American materials were being prepared for shipment to the Soviet Union, many of them, I assume, involving the transmission of official secrets: I could imagine that the implications of this may not at that time have appeared to be so sinister as they do today in retrospect, and I could also imagine if after all the information was not given in this particular instance, the man in question might have felt that no damage had been done to the government interest and that the question of the men who had initiated such a request might be better perhaps left to their own consciences and to the process of maturity in their own development.

I don't know; I can imagine those things. For that reason I would hesitate to make definite judgments on the basis simply of what I read in the letter of indictment. [General Nichols' letter.]

Q. Would it change your opinion if I were to suggest to you that when Dr. Oppenheimer did report this incident to security officers on his own initiative, as it turned out, he didn't tell them everything about it? He still withheld the name of the friend and told them a story that was not the whole truth?

A. Mr. Marks, I do not think that that would alter anything on the statement that I just made prior to your question. I might only add to it that I could well conceive that Dr. Oppenheimer might have done things which he would think in retrospect were mistakes or which others would conclude in retrospect were mistakes, but that would not preclude in his own instance any more than it would in the case of any of the others the process of growth and the ability to recognize mistakes and to learn from them and to make fewer in the future. What I have said about his activities, his personality, the cast of his mind during the years when I knew him would, I think, not be affected.

Q. These convictions that you have expressed about him, the confidence that you have expressed in him, what part is played in that judgment by the experience that you had as a Soviet expert?

A. I think a considerable part. One of the convictions that I have carried away from such experience as I have had with these matters in the field of Soviet work concerning the Soviet Union is that these things cannot really be judged in a fully adequate way without looking at the man as an entirety. That is, I am skeptical about any security processes that attempt to sample different portions of a man's nature separate from his whole being. I must say as one who has seen Robert Oppenheimer now over the course of several years and more latterly outside of government that I have these feelings and entertain them on the basis of my estimate of his personality and his character as a whole.

Q. Are they feelings or are they convictions?

A. They are on my part convictions, sir.

[At this point in the testimony, Marks turned to another subject—the problem in 1949 of whether the hydrogen bomb would be developed. He asked Kennan under what circumstances he had been consulted regarding the H-bomb.]

A. I can only give my recollection here, and I must say my recollections of all these official matters at that time are somewhat telescoped and entirely capable of being in error with regard to details. But the recollection is simply this. When it was first made known to the Secretary of State that there was a technical possibility of going ahead with the development of this weapon, at least to the extent the government now had before it a decision as to whether to develop the weapon or not—

Q. The question of making it?

A. The question of making a decision as to whether to attempt to develop the weapon or not. When that state of affairs was first brought to the attention of the Secretary of State, he at a very early stage there asked me into his office. My recollection is that Dr. Oppenheimer was there, and there may possibly have been one or two other people, but I do not remember who they were. We spoke about this and the only thing I can remember, I think, of that conversation is that we were all agreed that regardless of how the decision might fall, it was important that this government should re-examine its position with respect to the international control of atomic energy to make sure that nothing had been left undone from our side to get international agreement about these weapons before we proceeded with this program of the hydrogen bomb.

In other words, we wanted to make absolutely certain that before launching on this new phase of the atomic weapons race, our position in the United Nations on the international control of atomic energy was the best position that we could devise and most helpful one.

The Secretary of State asked me to

—Wide World Photo

A-bomb Scientist J. R. Oppenheimer as he testified before a Senate committee.

re-examine this question, to have another look at our international negotiation position as we had exposed it in the United Nations . . . whether there was anything more that we could now propose which might have a chance of putting an end to the atomic weapons race instead of facing us with the necessity of going ahead with this. . . .

Q. I take it that . . . you heard Dr. Oppenheimer express his views?

A. I recall going to Princeton in the fall of 1949 on one occasion. I had several things to do there. I called on Dr. Oppenheimer at the Institute, if my memory is correct, and we discussed it then. I was also once at sometime in that period—I don't know exactly when—asked to appear before the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, simply as a consultant. They wanted to hear my views. They asked me questions. The questions related primarily to the present state of our relations with the Soviet Union, the state of what we called "the cold war." I replied as frankly as I could to them.

Q. What impression did you get, if you remember it, of Dr. Oppenheimer's views?

A. I would not be able to quote his views in memory or in any detail or in any great accuracy. I can only say that the general impression I carried with me was the impression of a man who was greatly troubled by what he felt to be the extremely solemn implications of this decision.

Q. That is the pending decision?

A. The pending decision. Who realized that it was one the implications of which might carry very far—that it was almost impossible to predict where we might end up if this sort of a race with weapons of mass destruction were to go on indefinitely and, therefore, was greatly troubled and concerned to arrive at the most enlightened and sound decision that could be made.

[Here Mr. Kennan explained that, in his recollection, Oppenheimer did not try to sell him on any view. Kennan said he reported to the Secretary of State in January, 1950, regarding his analysis of the H-bomb problem.]

A. . . . The gist of my own views was simply this: I felt that this government was in no way in good position to make any great decisions with regard to either the international control of atomic energy or actually with regard to its own weapons program before it gained greater clarity in its own mind as to the purposes for which it was holding what were sometimes called the A, B, C weapons in general. By that I am thinking of the weapons of mass destruction—the atomic, chemical, and so forth. It seemed to me that there was unclarity in the councils of our government as to the reasons why we were cultivating and holding these weapons. The unclarity revolved around this question. Were we holding them only as a means of deterring other people from using them against us and retaliating against any such use of these weapons against us? Or were we building them into our military establishment in such a way that we would indicate that we were going to be dependent upon them in any future war and would have to use them, regardless of whether they were used against us first?

Q. Have we not taken the position that we would only use them for purposes of retaliation?

A. It is not my impression that we have, and it was not my impression at that time that there was any such determination in the councils of the United States government.

On the other hand, if I remember correctly, I was able to cite statements that had been made by some of our high military leaders—I think both in the councils of this government and in the NATO councils of Europe—which indicated very strongly that we were getting ourselves into a position where we would have to use these weapons as forward military weapons, regardless of whether they were used against us. . . . I favored the holding of these weapons only for purposes of retaliation and as a deterrent. . . . If you were asked, "Should we or should we not proceed to the development of a whole new range of more powerful atomic weapons?" (which was involved in the hydrogen bomb decision), you had to ask yourself "How much do we need the weapons of mass destruction in general?" That is the first question that had to be faced because if you already had enough, perhaps you didn't need the hydrogen bomb at all. . . . I had not at that time seen the evidence that what we already held in the old and regular atomic bomb . . . was not enough to make it a fruitless undertaking from the standpoint of Soviet policy to launch a war on us with these weapons.

In other words, I considered the burden of proof to rest on that point. It seemed to me you would have to prove that we could not do the job with the weapons we already had and, to my knowledge, that was never demonstrated to me at the time. Perhaps the answer might have been one thing or the other, but I had never seen the proof.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY ROGER ROBB, COUNSEL FOR THE BOARD

Q. Have you had much experience, Mr. Kennan, with Communists? . . . Are you familiar with Communist dogma or technique?

A. I think I am, sir. I have had about twenty years of reading the Soviet press and sometimes other press organs with the view to determining whether they reflected that type of dogma or not. I feel I have a certain familiarity with it.

Q. Would you place much weight in a statement of a Communist that he just left the party or had disassociated himself with it before coming on some secret work for the government?

A. I would certainly regard it as a factor very seriously relevant to fitness for office, but one to be examined individually. You asked a moment ago about the case of our Embassy out there. Mr. Bullitt, for whom I had the greatest respect and about whose security I never had the faintest doubt, had been married to the widow of John Reed, who was the first prominent American Communist, I suppose, in this country. We didn't find that a source of worry with regard to Mr. Bullitt.

Q. No, I am talking, rather than matrimonial association, more active association with the Communist party. Would you tend to view with considerable skepticism a statement of a man who admitted that he had been an active member of the Communist party or had been active in Communist affairs . . . that he had just left the Communist party or left the Communist affairs on the eve of coming to work in the Embassy? . . .

A. I think we would have regarded it as a factor which meant that there was a certain burden of proof to demonstrate that the man's value to us was very great and that this could be satisfactorily explained away, and we had something that we could depend on in judging that he was now a person whose loyalty we didn't need to worry about.

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Supposing the Russians had developed the hydrogen bomb and had got it, and we didn't have it; what would then be our position vis-a-vis the Russians in any negotiations?

. . . I have always held doubts . . . as to whether the fact that perhaps one party had weapons of this sort a little more destructive or greatly more destructive than the other would nevertheless change this situation so vitally. We did, after all, have the old type of bomb. We had some means of delivery. I think the world would have gone along pretty much the same. . . .

Q. You don't feel, then, that we would have been at any disadvantage as against the Russians if they had the hydrogen bomb and we had not?

. . . I think that our position with regard to them has depended much less on the mathematical equation of who has this and who has that in the way of weapons of mass destruction than we think it has. . . .

(Continued on Page 43)

Are Americans Suspicious of Intellectuals?

BURT: What is an intellectual?

BURNHAM: An intellectual is not necessarily some one who is intelligent. The term *intellectual* actually was first used in Russia. There it applied really to what we would call white collar workers—the whole field of white collar workers including teachers but also clerks and government workers.

We have taken it over, and I think what we usually mean by it is somebody who makes his living by words, either by talking them or by writing them, or by teaching them or by preaching them.

In the most general way it's an occupational word — intellectual — and it means some one whose living is made out of words.

HODGES: To me an intellectual is a person who is engaged primarily with ideas instead of things. I would like to emphasize that he's therefore on the frontier of theory rather than down slugging out with production and that sort of activity. I think the background of America in this respect is very important, because the founding fathers were outstanding intellectuals. That's one of the most interesting characteristics about the origins of our government.

BURT: They were concerned with ideas rather than things?

HODGES: They had the capacity of the best intellectual to think and to act. I think it's very important for us to recognize that President Jackson, the product of the new frontier in the West, probably started the fight against intellectualism.

BUCKLEY: I think both Mr. Burnham and Professor Hodges have illuminated the question. I'd like to make one further distinction that an intellectual is somebody who is interested in the theory of things. And precisely why I am going to indict later on the ruling intellectual elite in this country today is because it can be demonstrated that they are interested in theory, it can also be demonstrated that there is very little relationship between their theory and things.

COMBS: I would suggest that the fruit of the intellectual effort in this country has been a number of things, tangible things—all of which can be demonstrated to have been beneficial to our country. I am not really above consulting the dictionary occasionally for definitions, not having the more detached and . . .

HODGES: Intellectual growth?

COMBS: . . . Olympian point of view of you other gentlemen of having . . .

BURNHAM: It spoils the fun if you always settle it by the dictionary, Mr. Combs.

COMBS: Yes, it's having the capacity for the higher forms of knowledge or thought. I should agree that it is represented by a preoccupation with ideas rather than with purely material values, although frequently the ideas do eventuate in a very tangible program.

You were speaking just a moment ago, Mr. Buckley, of the ruling intellectual elite which means that you, as an intellectual of the right, are challenging the ruling of the elite of the left . . .

BUCKLEY: No, I say I'm indicting them. . . .

COMBS: You are indicting them?

BUCKLEY: I'm not stripping them of their . . .

COMBS: I'm prepared to indict you too, let us say, ideologically.

BURNHAM: You'll grant that they are both intellectuals. You'll think that the right and left both have their intellectuals?

COMBS: Of course, I will. Of course, I may say the right—the extreme right represented by these gentlemen here—in its demonology equates intellectuals with liberals and liberals with sin.

BUCKLEY: No, there is an undistributed middle there . . .

COMBS: I think it can be exemplified, however, by its exponents, two extraordinarily articulate ones that are present.

BURT: Mr. Burnham, is the average American intellectual inclined to favor increased government domination of the private citizen's activities?

BURNHAM: I would say that over the past generations I think this has been true of the most conspicuous intellectuals, the ones who use words most frequently and most publicly; that means in particular the intellectuals who have been educated in the universities of the eastern seaboard and who hang out (a good deal of the time) in New York, Washington, Boston and the other cities . . .

There is another distinction about what makes an intellectual that might be worth mentioning here. For the most part an intellectual is someone who calls himself so. If I'm going to be an intellectual, the most important thing for me to do is to regard myself as an intellectual.

Now there are some very intelligent persons in many parts of the country who are perhaps too humble or too modest to point to themselves and say, "I am an intellectual." But if we look at what they do, if we look at how they think and the quality of their thinking, there is no reason that they cannot rank alongside some of those whose names are more frequently in the papers.

COMBS: I'll go along with that statement.

BURT: Professor Hodges, is the average American intellectual inclined to favor increased government domination of the private citizen's activities?

HODGES: To me this is a question of time, because intellectuals have their fashions like other people. I think it was fashionable in the 1930's under the New Deal. I think we'd agree the temper was in favor of an extension of governmental interference. It was the pattern of thinking and I would, as a professor, say that I was regarded at New York University from time to time as a Fascist because I didn't happen to go along with the Roosevelt New Deal doctrines.

COMBS: You call yourself an undistributed middle?

HODGES: I think that is quite adequate, sir. I have reduced somewhat since that day.

BURNHAM: Let me go back to what Mr. Combs said a moment ago. He suggested that Mr. Buckley and I are objecting to intellectualism and intellectuals. Not at all. I'm very much in favor of intellectuals if they are the right kind of intellectuals.

Intellectuals—the self-styled and those so labeled by definition of the Russian-devised term—arouse varying sentiments. A leading American intellectual, Author-Philosopher James Burnham (lower right) is featured in this analysis with panelists: Author William F. Buckley, Jr., Commentator George Hamilton Combs, and Professor Charles Hodges of New York University. Hardy Burt served as moderator.

I'd like to refer here to a historical analogy. In the sixteenth century the great courtier and poet and warrior, Sir Philip Sidney, wrote a marvelous essay called "In Defense of Poesy." If you read over that essay you'll see that in it he attacks nearly all the poets of the time. But he attacked them in the name of better and purer and more adequate poetry for which he stood and which, as a matter of fact, he was helping to usher in by that work.

In the same way it seems to me we have reached a point where it would be well if someone would write in defense of intelligence. In that defense he would necessarily find that he was making a sharp attack on most of those who have pretended to speak in its name as intellectuals over the past generation.

HODGES: I think in one of Mr. Burnham's books dealing with containment or liberation he makes a very strong point that the American is not a theoretician. He's not concerned with ideologies which have so marked the intellectual in the last generation, let's say. Therefore, there's a strong anti-ideological tendency. I think you used those words.

We have in the values of America the emphasis on practical doing so far as the popular mind goes, and we forget that before you can do, you have to know how to do. I think that that has been lost to sight under the influence of our American life.

COMBS: I will not say that the question is somewhat semantically unfortunate. I would merely prefer rephrasing it: Is the average American intellectual interested in government's fulfilling its function and duty to the people?

BURT: You're saying this is the same question?

COMBS: Yes, and I would not regard that as government interference, to use the splendidly objective word used by my professorial colleague. It seems to me absolutely necessary that intellectuals recognize that we are no longer in the mummy clothes of an Egyptian century, and that it is necessary to do a certain amount of planning . . .

I am tremendously impressed by Professor Burnham's comment in one of his books in which he is referring to liberal intellectuals. He says they are mistaken in their predictions, false in their analyses, wrong in their advice, and, through the result of their actions, injurious to the interests of the nation. That is reason enough to strive to free the conduct of the country's affairs from the influence of them and their works.

BUCKLEY: Hear, hear!

COMBS: And Mr. Buckley in a book in which he approvingly quotes this says some day the patience of America may at last be exhausted and we will strike out against the liberals.

Mr. Buckley says that Mr. Burnham was most clearly advocating social sanctions against them. What are social sanctions? Well, Mr. Buckley refers to social sanctions in somewhat indefinable terms, but if I can define them—making life uncomfortable for the target individual, schools refusing to hire teachers, radio stations closing their doors to artists and so on and so forth. I suggest that this is rather harsh medicine to use against the "intellectual."

BUCKLEY: I suggest that it's a very dangerous game to misquote me in my presence.

COMBS: No, no. I'm not misquoting you in your presence. I have the book here . . .

BUCKLEY: What Mr. Burnham—I will let him spell out the exact meaning of those phrases which have . . .

COMBS: Maybe it was L. Brent Bozell's footnote down here: "Mr. Burnham was clearly advocating social sanctions against them."

BUCKLEY: The question is what does Mr. Burnham mean, and what do Mr. Bozell and I mean in subscribing to the notion that it is time to free the conduct of the country's affairs from the influence of the liberal intelligentsia. My point is that there is constantly a struggle in every society for control. It's manifested politically in a democracy by a struggle for control of Congress, for example. It's a struggle for control of the White House.

I suggest that the liberals have been extremely effective. I would even go so far as to say ruthless and coarse and brutal in their struggle for power, and have been completely successful in dispossessing conservatives of any power, whether political power or social power, or even intellectual power.

What Mr. Burnham (and I will let him talk for himself here) was suggesting in the passages that you quote, and what I was hoping would turn into a prediction, is that sooner or later the American people would recognize that the dominant liberal intellectuals in this country have stabbed them in the back; that they had been inadequate in their counsels; that they had been superficial; and that they had been totalitarian. And for that reason we would turn and ask someone else to assume positions of control; i.e., for example, the conservative intellectuals.

COMBS: That's a very euphemistical way of putting somewhat blunt language . . .

BUCKLEY: Social sanction . . .

COMBS: Yes, social sanction, and social sanctions mean to you definite interference in the economic life . . .

BUCKLEY: I would suggest that it's nothing less than a social sanction the fact that you are hired regularly to talk over radio and TV here in New York whereas Mr. Burnham is not.

COMBS: As a matter of fact, I dare say that Mr. Burnham could, without difficulty, find sponsorship for the enunciation of his rather extraordinary views.

BUCKLEY: You say that Mr. Burnham is distinguished from other people because he meets your particular qualifications as an intellectual . . .

COMBS: Mr. Buckley, I don't think you would encounter any difficulty in finding sponsorship for your own rather odd philosophies.

BURT: Would you like to have the job as agent, Mr. Combs?

COMBS: That is one that I believe I would eschew for the moment.

BURNHAM: Mr. Combs is giving this very strange aura to the term "social sanctions" as if Mr. Buckley and I were proposing that the liberal intellectuals should be taken out and put in concentration camps . . .

COMBS: Oh, no, no, no, no, no! No, that isn't what was said.

BURNHAM: Or things of that sort. Well, what in the world is more natural than to favor those whom one believes have the correct answers to our country's problems occupying, for example, the important posts in the State Department? Social sanctions mean throwing people out of policy-directing positions in the State Department who are leading our country . . .

COMBS: Those are political sanctions.

BURNHAM: . . . into its own destruction. No, they're also economic sanctions. It loses jobs and a very fine thing it is for the country that some of them recently like John Stewart Service, like John P. Davies and so on. . . . That's the sort of sanction we're talking about.

COMBS: I would suggest in reply to Mr. Buckley's assertion that the liberals have stabbed us in the back and the liberals have brought us to this present state of distress that, while there hasn't been quite enough intellectual planning in the present administration, the country does not seem to be prostrate. I've seen no evidence of mass misery. I've seen very little proof of that degree of social dislocation which is about to bring revolution. I think the intellectuals have done very well.

BUCKLEY: I think these are highly callous statements to make to a society that has just lived through three wars in a period of thirty years and faces at point blank range the greatest and solidest and most formidable enemy that civilization has ever seen, that is forcing 30 per cent of its income to try to buy ourselves some kind of reprieve from the mistakes that have been made by our liberal leadership over the past thirty years.

COMBS: You would have had us oppose fascism, I take it?

BUCKLEY: Are you bringing in fascism here? What connection . . .

COMBS: You said that mistakes had been made.

BUCKLEY: So what? Now this is the liberal's mind at work.

COMBS: Well, of course, Germany was Fascist and Italy was a Fascist country. Japan was a Fascist country. You would not have had us oppose their encroachments?

BUCKLEY: And the Soviet Union was a Communist country.

COMBS: No. no, no. Answer my question. Would you not have had us oppose Germany's militarism?

BUCKLEY: I'm saying that if Mr. Burnham, or anybody whom he designated, had been in charge of our foreign policy starting from 1938 on, we would not be in our present plight because he did not fall for the Communists after 1938 and 1939. But the liberals almost to a man did, with the result that while we were trying to beat Hitler here, all we did was transfer the center of totalitarian power from Berlin to Moscow and reinforce it tremendously in the process.

COMBS: I think you have to narrow your argument a good deal. Forget about those three world wars that we improvidently fought.

BUCKLEY: I'm saying that there is no justification for your Pollyannish talk here about how prosperous and well off we are in the face of this terrible plight. It's irresponsible.

COMBS: I think, as a matter of fact, we're very well off, indeed, if there were a little higher content of planning.

BURT: Are the American people suspicious of intellectuals or do the people look to intellectuals for political and economic leadership?

HODGES: I should say that the people are not sufficiently politically alert to classify in this particular manner. I suppose that it's a question of not bothering about egg heads, to take a popular expression. . . . Now it seems to me that leadership response in America is essentially glandular and certainly not intellectual. I think we follow heroes; we stampede along an emotional line. I don't think there's much intellectual decision as yet.

BUCKLEY: I think it's the opposite.

BURNHAM: I think in much of the country the people are growing suspicious of intellectuals and with very good reason—reason, at least, looked at in the short view.

They are suspicious of them because they see some of their fruits. They see—and much better than the papers and commentators very often give them credit for it—they see what has happened to the international position of this country. They see the consolidation of so much of the world against us. They see the fact that we are unable to act effectively against it precisely because we have followed the advice of intellectuals, especially the liberal and left intellectuals who have been dominating public opinion in this country and who have been dominating the State Department and the other agencies of the government that determine foreign policy.

This suspicion, in my opinion, is unfortunate in one sense because it tends to become a suspicion of intelligence and of intellectual work in general instead of being directed against these specific persons who are the authors of the difficult position, the almost desperate position in which we now find ourselves.

BUCKLEY: I'd like to just amplify what Mr. Burnham has been saying and at the same time remark on Mr. Hodges' statement by saying that, unfortunately, the American response is not visceral. If it had been visceral they would not have been so willing to forgive our leaders for the terrible and costly and bloody mistakes that they have made. Nor would they be willing to forgive one atrocity after the other that have been traceable to the Soviet Union. I believe we need more emotion, more passion, a visceral response, indeed—right from the stomach.

I would say Mr. Burnham therefore put his finger on it when he says that we must never allow our resentment over the terrible specific errors made by our intellectual leadership in the last thirty years to turn us into agents of anti-intellectualism, as such. This, I hope we will not do. The people who are conducive to such an attitude are the liberals who really stick to their outworn and mistaken premises.

BURNHAM: Or be anti-intellectual in general.

COMBS: I should like to call to the attention of Mr. Burnham, who has passed this animadversion upon the intellectuals in power, that they are responsible for social security; they are responsible for unemployment insurance; they are responsible for the possible adjustment of monetary policies and credit to prevent deflation; they are responsible for this present stable world.

Therefore it would seem to me that it ill behooves him to criticize the pioneering work of men who were thinking constructively, simply because he would like to retire into the sarcophagus of Cheops.

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Dan Smoot defines opposing views on the problem of

SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS

When a person has been denied public employment because he is suspected of Communist activities, should he have the right to face and cross-examine his accusers?

• • •

In the tradition of Facts Forum, let's answer this question from two opposite points of view, taking first the arguments of some who say YES.

• • •

Ever since Joe McCarthy began his career of slander in 1950, decent Americans both in and out of Congress have been trying to devise a code or set of rules for congressional investigators which would place some curb on the demagogues who capture headlines and win powerful support in the fanatic lunatic fringe of American voters—voters who think that the only valid purpose of Congress is to hunt imaginary witches.

Most proposals prescribing orderly and judicial procedures for congressional committees bog down in legal disputes over jurisdiction or over the question of separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches of government; or they get sidetracked by petty jealousies and personal ambitions of individual congressmen; or they get lost in the partisan struggles between political factions.

In the present Congress, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has been presiding over a subcommittee holding hearings concerned with the over-all problem of the nation's internal security programs.

The nonpartisan, anti-Communist, political organization known as Americans for Democratic Action—ADA—prepared for this subcommittee one proposal which cuts through all the red tape and partisan conflict and gets to the very heart of the problem of guaranteeing internal security but at the same time protecting the constitutional rights of accused persons.

The ADA simply proposed that when a governmental agency fires—or refuses to hire—a person because he is accused of subversive activities, that person be given the privilege of facing his accusers—of hearing from them, face to face, what they have to say about him.

The professional anti-Communist witch-hunters are behaving as if this proposal represents some kind of dangerous and radical doctrine.

If these superpatriots would ever read the Constitution of the United States—which they so loudly claim to revere—they would discover that this ADA proposal comes from Amendment VI to that Constitution.

Amendment VI to the Constitution of the United States says that an accused person must be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against him and must be confronted with the witnesses against him.

BRANDED AS SECURITY RISKS

Yet for years—particularly for the past two years—we have witnessed the degrading spectacle of thousands of Americans being fired from their government jobs, or being denied the privilege of getting government jobs, for the vague, unspecified reason that they are suspected of subversive activities.

Many who are branded as security risks are never told what the specific charges against them are.

Others who do hear the accusations are never told who their accusers are. All they can ever learn is that they have been accused by some confidential FBI informer known only as T36, or by some hired, anonymous stool pigeon of a police department or congressional committee.

There are floating around Washington innumerable vague reports by anonymous informers who claim to know about Communists in government service.

Any congressman or senator unscrupulous enough not to care how many innocent people he hurts can make political capital of these reports.

He can capture headlines by broadcasting these anonymous reports as concrete evidence that the whole governmental establishment is in the hands of traitors and spies.

Then, a timid and politically sensitive administration starts firing everybody against whom any accusation has been made, because the administration certainly doesn't want the reputation of being soft on communism.

BLACK SILENCE OF FEAR

For too many years now, Americans have been under the black silence of fear and in the grip of hysteria. They have been told that Communists are everywhere. Suspicion has run rampant. Smear and character assassination have been the order of the day. Guilt-by-association and a Fifth Amendment plea are regarded as the equivalent of conviction in open court. FBI files have been used for partisan political purposes.

We are at a critical time in our history. At a time when we are leading an alliance of the free world against a vast Communist empire, the superpatriots would have us waste all of our energies—and sacrifice all of our democratic traditions—in a mighty struggle against an insignificant little American Communist party whose total membership is about 25,000.

During the war years, when Russia was our ally, a few Communists did get into our government. But most of these were removed from government employment years ago. The congressional committees have been busy belaboring a few Communists who have long since been detected and removed from positions where they could do harm.

As a matter of fact, our zealous investigators have had such a hard time finding Communists in government that they have had to look for them in the churches, the press, the schools, and the Girl Scouts. The maternity wards will

probably come next—when it occurs to some enterprising anti-Communist that here would be the ideal place to nip communism in the bud.

Countless respected Americans are accused of "following the Communist line." The charge is hysterical and absurd. The total circulation of all Communist publications in the United States is scarcely more than twenty thousand. Through their little publications and their front organizations, the Communists may influence a few non-Communists to support some of their proposals. But it is physically impossible for great numbers of people, schools, papers, and churches to be following the Communist line, as has been charged by irresponsible crackpots.

The self-styled anti-Communists are doing infinitely more damage than the little handful of card-carrying Communists could possibly do. The Communists could not possibly create as much disruption, suspicion, distrust, and general demoralization as that which is being promoted by the anti-Communist mania.

The morale of whole government departments has been destroyed. Federal employees are afraid to take any action, make any recommendation, express any opinion—lest they be accused of being "Communists." Department heads are afraid to protect innocent subordinates. No Communist or group of Communists could make the shambles of our executive departments that has been accomplished by the so-called "anti-Communists."

The Hitler-like operations of those who pose as anti-Communists have made the United States ridiculous in the eyes of the world. Europe is well acquainted with these Fascist techniques—from bitter experience—and it doesn't like them. What are we to say when such outstanding Americans as Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson, traveling abroad, have to confess to foreigners that Americans are divided with fear and distrust of one another?

How humiliating Mrs. Roosevelt must have found it when she had to apologize to Marshal Tito for the antics of Joe McCarthy! How can we explain to the world our frenzied campaigns of book burning?

ROADBLOCKS IN PATH TO UNITY

One of the most serious effects of the destructive efforts of crusading anti-Communists is the wedge they are perpetually driving between us and our allies. It is almost as if these dissident elements were deliberately trying to divide the free world for the Kremlin. When they are not looking in the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife for scheming Communist organizers, they are throwing roadblocks in the path of every attempt

—Wide World Photo

Sen. Hubert Humphrey

to build international unity and collective security.

Even the President of the United States cannot protect government employees who are attacked by congressional investigators hiding under the cloak of congressional immunity. Equally defenseless are the countless individuals not in government service—workers, teachers, actors, newspapermen, and even ministers of the Gospel—who are ruthlessly driven out of employment by wild and sensational accusations.

Witnesses are forced to plead the Fifth Amendment—innocent people who dare not declare their innocence for fear that a paid informer like Harvey Matusow will be dredged up to send them to jail. Then these innocent persons are labeled "Fifth Amendment Communists," convicted, and fired from their jobs.

Men who are dead and cannot defend themselves are smeared in the reports of investigating committees. Old material that has been adjudged inconclusive by a former President and his top advisers is dug out of FBI files in an attempt to make the smear stick.

This condition has lasted too long. It has become a national disgrace. It has grievously hurt many innocent people; and it has done grave damage to the reputation of America in the eyes of the world.

The quickest and surest way to correct it is to require informers to stand up and be counted.

If someone burning with patriotism thinks he has information about a so-called Communist conspiracy, he ought to be willing to make a public disclosure. If he knows about some dangerous Communist hidden in an important job, let him come before proper authorities, take an oath, face the person he is accusing, and spell out his accusation.

Surely this requirement would not discourage the real patriots who say they are dedicating their lives to fighting communism and saving Americanism.

ROUTE TO OBLIVION

It would, however, put a damper on the malicious gossips, paid stool pigeons, and professional crackpots whose lives are dedicated to slander. All of these would go slinking off into the oblivion where they belong. The great witch-hunt would come to an end, and if we could solve this distressing internal problem, we might clear the atmosphere enough for our superpatriots to see the real danger that threatens America today.

America is in no danger from the vague, nebulous idea of communism.

The danger to our nation lies in the massive armed might of the Soviet bloc of nations. It is this force that threatens the free world—not the philosophy of

—Wide World Photo

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt spent three days visiting with Yugoslav President Tito at his summer estate during her world tour in 1953.

communism. It is time that we realized that our enemy is the military forces arrayed against us—and not the idea of communism. We must seek ways of easing international tension and of bringing about a progressive demobilization of all the great powers.

The Communists do exist. We cannot ignore that fact or wish them out of existence. We must learn to exist peacefully with them. And there is no better place to start than at home.

The principle of coexistence is sound. You cannot defeat ideas by annihilating the people who hold them. We coexist with many evils—crime, juvenile delinquency, and slums—and no one has suggested that we try to combat these by wiping out people.

This is not to imply that we do not need protection from internal subversion.

We do.

The ADA proposal that we return to the Constitution and give accused persons an opportunity to confront their accusers would give us the kind of internal security program we need—one which is effective, but which meets the demands of justice and fair play.

• • •

That was one side of the question. The other side will come next.

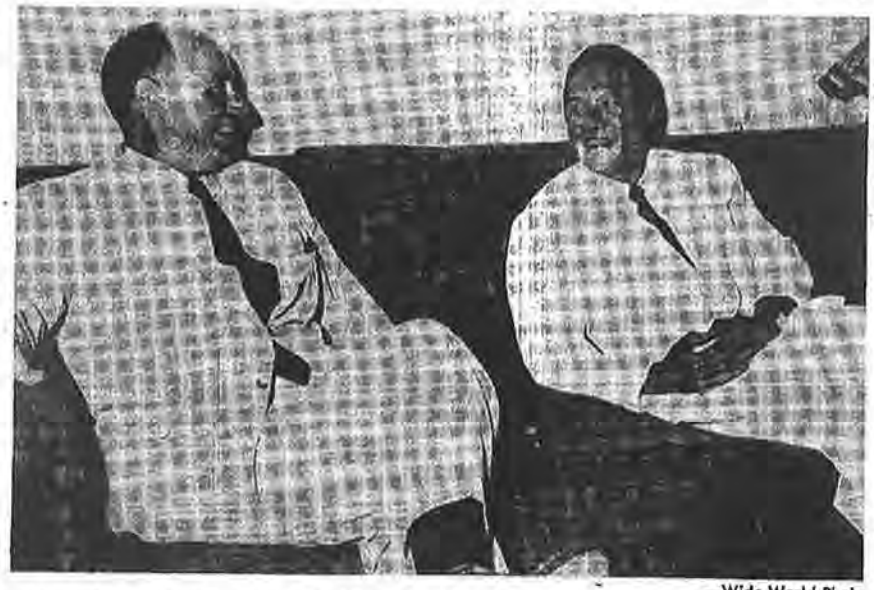
Here are arguments of some who DO NOT believe that the FBI and other investigating agencies should be forced to disclose the identity of confidential witnesses against persons who have been denied public employment because of suspected Communist activities.

• • •

A GENERATION ago, Americans looked upon Communists as wild-eyed, bomb-throwing fanatics who were dangerous in a limited way, very much as a mad dog is, but, like a mad dog, easy to identify and dispose of.

Such people are indeed a danger to life and limb as long as they are at large with weapons in their hands, but they represent no threat to the American way of life. They have no means of subverting the massive institutions of freedom in America, nor is there danger that large numbers of people can be infected with their particular brand of insanity. But if you see the elite of our society—the certified gentlemen of the day, the scholars bristling with college degrees—doing the work that the criminal revolutionary conspirators want done, you behold an odd and dangerous condition indeed.

This is the phenomenon which we have been witnessing in the United States for a number of years. The Communist party, through its official publications, has been crying that all of the investigations of communism (all government security programs, all efforts to root out subversion and treason in American life) were destroying American civil liberties, creating public hysteria, and doing violent damage to the nation. No one in his right mind would pay any attention to the Communists for saying all of these things, any more than he would sympathize with a gangster who criticizes the police department for arresting outlaws. But when the moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, namely, the Reverend John Mackay, says publicly that anti-Communists may be more dangerous than Communists; when a leading bishop of the Methodist Church, namely, G. Bromley Oxnam, thunders comparable nonsense all over the country; and when such as these have a supporting cast of the most influential intellectuals in our land (like, for example, Edward R. Murrow, Walter Lippmann, Elmer Davis, Palmer Hoyt of the *Denver Post*, James Reston of the *New York Times*, the Alsop twins of the *Tribune*, and almost anybody you can think of in *Time* and *Life*) confusion is likely to be compounded to the point of producing public hysteria.



—Wide World Photo

Adlai Stevenson conferring with Ex-Emperor Bao Dai, now Vietnamese Chief of State, on Viet Nam's political, economic and military problems, in 1953 when he made a weeklong tour of Indochina.

DISTORTED PICTURE PAINTED

Justice William O. Douglas, and Adlai Stevenson, and numerous other worthies of their persuasion have been telling the whole world that a black silence of fear has settled upon the people of America, and that we're all in a state of hysteria. That is a strange picture for these patriots to be painting of our land—strange, for one thing, because it is not accurate.

The American people are not hysterical, and to say that much is to pay a high tribute to the American people.

If you saw the chief of police in your city in daily consultations with the town's leading gangster, you would probably get excited. If you knew this gangster had plans to take over the city, murder all decent citizens, and institute a reign of terror, you would no doubt be worried because you saw him hanging around the city hall all the time. If you took this matter up with the local newspaper editor and the minister of your church, and they lambasted you publicly as being an idiot, a reactionary, and a troublemaker for mentioning the condition, you might even be excused for going into hysterics.

The American people—rather calmly—have been witnessing just this sort of thing on a national scale for many years. The Communists are the bloodiest gang of thugs the world has ever seen. They have a plan to take over this nation, murder all decent citizens, and institute a reign of terror. Yet daily, we see the leaders of our land in consultation with them, trying to make good-faith agreements on disarmament, planning big-power conferences, offering to pool atomic energy resources with them, and perpetually talking about peaceful coexistence with them. For three long years we were regaled daily with stories of Communist atrocities committed against our soldiers in Korea.

America's great liberals could, with the greatest composure, read about American soldiers shot in the back of the head or kicked off a road to die in Manchuria. But let some anti-Communist investigator in the United States disclose the presence of some suspected Communist in a university or government job, and the liberals erupt with great violence—not because of the suspected Communist, but because of the patriot who exposed him.

(Continued on Page 27)

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA				
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
	WAVU**	630	Sun	1:30 p
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Birmingham	WDRC*	960	Tues	6:30 p
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WEBJ‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Carrollton	WRAG*	590	Sun	12:30 p
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS**	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV*	23	Sat	7:30 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	6:00 p
	WXAL‡	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	12:15 p
Eufaula	WULA**	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF**	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WJOI*			
	WJOI**			
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*			
	WGWD**			
Geneva	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs	9:15 p
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
	WERH**	970	Sun	1:00 p
Huntsville	WHBS*	1550	Mon	7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WBHP‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WABR*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600	Mon	7:15 p
	WJJJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Fri	1:00 p
	WCOV-TV*	20	Mon	9:30 p
	WFSA-TV**			
Muscle Shoals	WLAY‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Ozark	WOZK**	900	Sun	5:00 p
	WOZK*	900	Sat	5:15 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX**	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	To be announced	
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR**	920	Sun	8:30 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
Scottsboro	WEPG*			
	WEPG**			
	WCRI**			
Selma	WHBB*			
	WHBB**			
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
	WFEB*			
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p

* * * * *

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Fairbanks	KTVF-TV*		To be announced	
	KTVF-TV**		To be announced	
ARIZONA				
Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sat	5:00 p
	KOY‡	550	Sun	8:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p
ARKANSAS				
Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	To be announced	
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KAMD‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Fayetteville	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK**	950	To be announced	
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN‡	1320	Thurs	8:30 p
	KWHN**	1320	Sun	6:00 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV*	22	Wed	9:00 p
Hope	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KXAR‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	8:45 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KXLR‡	1150	Thurs	8:30 p
	KARK-TV*	4	Sun	1:30 p
Magnolia	KSSC*		To be announced	
	KVMA**	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KENA‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KTLO‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KXRJ‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV*	6	Sat	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

We have enjoyed your program ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS for some time now and are writing to say we only wish it could be at least an hour program as your panel obviously has so much more to add if only time permitted. Here's hoping at some time in the future you will be on for a longer time.

MRS. KATHLEEN O'SKEA
Redwood City, Calif.

As a subscriber for only a few months, I have been more and more pleased as each issue arrives—so much so, in fact, that I could wish only that *Facts Forum News* were a weekly so I might gain even more from its remarkable pages. . . . I would like to take advantage of your offer to provide films to schools, and I would request that the information be sent to me as quickly as possible . . .

P. J. COLAGROSSI, Headmaster
The Grail School, Inc.
Fairfield, Conn.

We are anxious to have you send us two copies of your TV broadcast ["Communism and Intellectuals," page 2]. . . . It was a wonderful presentation and we have had several of our members speak of it. . . . We have made our own subscription to the *Facts Forum News*. . . .

J. B. WITHEE, Executive Director
Arkansas Free Enterprise Assn.
308 Rector Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.

I am letting others read my copies of *Facts Forum News*, and I think I could get a number of the poll cards signed in our village. . . . Could you send me—say a half-dozen—so that I could get them filled out?

MRS. J. M. FEW
Apalachee, Ga.

. . . I simply can't express my appreciation for your magazine, radio, and TV programs. You are doing this country a service for which you can never be adequately thanked.

MRS. ROBERT CHANDLER
5728 North 10th Place, Phoenix, Ariz.

Tuned in on . . . your amazing program Sunday night. It would seem you are definitely courageous to tell such truthful facts. . . . May I have a copy of your magazine? . . .

JOHN KLESPER
Lions Club Trailer Park
Winter Haven, Fla.

. . . I do not want to miss one of your broadcasts. They are highly interesting, informative, and educational.

B. H. HARTSFIELD
Employers Insurance Co. of Ala., Inc.
2112 First Ave., N., Birmingham 3, Ala.

. . . You folks say more in fifteen minutes than all the other programs (commentators) combined. Your analysis of both sides of a question is doing much to stimulate thinking upon which logical conclusions can be reached. . . .

WALTER BIRDSALL BROWN
5415 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

CALIFORNIA				
Bakersfield	KBAK‡	550	Sun	8:30 p
Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC**	1230	Mon	9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:15 p
Los Angeles	KFI*	640	Sun	12:30 p
	KHJ‡	930	Sun	8:30 p
	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE**	1340	Sun	7:30 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
	KAFP**	1490	Mon	7:30 p
San Bernardino	KFXM‡	590	Sun	8:30 p
Sacramento	KXOA‡	1470	Sun	8:30 p
San Diego	KGB‡	1360	Sun	8:30 p
	KFMB-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sun	9:45 p
	KFRC‡	610	Sun	8:30 p
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC‡	920	Sun	8:30 p
	KVEC-TV*	6	Sun	7:00 p
	KVEC-TV**	6	Sat	
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE**	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	
COLORADO				
Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
	KGIW‡	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	9:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ‡	1400	Thurs	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	5:30 p
CONNECTICUT				
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Wed	8:30 p
	WATR-TV*	53	Sun	5:30 p
DELAWARE				
Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun	4:00 p
Wilmington	WDEL-TV*	12		
	WDEL-TV**	12		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				
Washington	WMAL*	630	Sun	9:15 p
	WEAM‡	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WTTG-TV*	5	Sun	6:30 p
FLORIDA				
Cocoa	WKKO*	860	To be announced	
Daytona Beach	WMFJ*	1450	Sun	8:15 p
Fort Lauderdale	WFTL-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WFTL-TV*	23	Tues	8:00 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV*	11	Sun	9:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
	WRUF**	850	Sun	8:00 p
Hollywood	WTVW*	17	Fri	10:30 p
Jacksonville	WJHP‡	1320	Thurs	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
	WKWF‡	1600	Thurs	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB**	1220	Sun	8:00 p
Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun	4:45 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	WNER**	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WIOD*	610	Thurs	6:15 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WKAT‡	1360	Thurs	9:30 p
Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat	5:45 p
	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLP**	590	Sun	2:00 p
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV*	21	Sun	7:00 p

* * * * *

Vote the June poll questions, Page 65

* * * * *

GEORGIA				
Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	7:15 p
	WQXI‡	790	Thurs	9:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WMJM‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
	WGFS**	1430	To be announced	
Dalton	WRLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
	WGGA‡	550	Thurs	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WKEU‡	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
LaGrange	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WLAG‡	1240	Thurs	9:30 p
Macon	WNEX-TV*	47	Sun	6:30 p
	WNEX-TV**	47	To be announced	
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WMVG‡	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE**	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT**	800	Sun	5:15 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WLET‡	1420	Thurs	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
	WGOV‡	950	Thurs	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WAYX‡	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
HAWAII				
Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p

(Continued on Page 31)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS

(Continued from Page 25)

Thus the Communists get on with the job of revolution in the United States. For five years the Communists have been confidently saying that they were going to destroy the anti-Communist movement in the United States.

How successful have they been?

The sordid Matusow case? No, not the Matusow case. That's an obvious Communist plot. You will have to look somewhere else.

Look, for example, at the Fund for the Republic, a fifteen-million-dollar fund set up by the great Ford Foundation to investigate. Investigate Communists? Oh, no. To investigate the investigators of Communists!

WITNESSES OR SCOUNDRELS?

You might take a look at a whole series of articles run in the *Denver Post* under the general theme of "Faceless Informers." The net effect of these articles is to prove that all of the undercover witnesses who have given vital information to FBI and congressional investigators about the Communist conspiracy in the United States are scoundrels. And after you have looked at that series of articles, you might take a look at the University of Arizona, which gave a Freedom of the Press award to Palmer Hoyt, the author of those articles.

More particularly, we must take a look at the current ADA proposal for forcing the FBI to identify its informants in security cases. Mr. Joseph Rauh, a founder and vice-president of the Americans for Democratic Action (which calls itself an anti-Communist organization), demands that all persons who are discharged from or denied employment in government service on the basis of information that they are security risks be faced with their accusers. If this proposal were adopted, the FBI system of counterespionage against the Communist party in the United States would be completely ruined within two months. How? The Communists could simply send their people, one at a time, to governmental agencies to apply for jobs. Every time one of them was denied a job because he was suspected of being a Communist, he could then demand that the FBI reveal the source of all of its information concerning his Communist activities.

Why would an American political organization which calls itself anti-Communist make such a proposal? Who knows? The strange assortment of violent prejudices, inconsistencies, incoherent nonsense, and mystifying contradictions which make up the philosophy and code of ethics of America's liberals is something totally incomprehensible to a sane person.

To the modern liberal there is only one respectable kind of anti-Communist: the kind who scolds communism in general, polite terms, but heaps venomous abuse on the genuine anti-Communists who are actually hurting communism in America.

Ponder the case of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who can entertain Soviet officials at polite teas and talk about how really nice they are once you get to know them, even though Mrs. Roosevelt surely knows that Soviet officials have been responsible for more mass murders and wholesale enslavement of human beings, more torturing of human bodies and twisting of human minds, than all other tyrants in history.

Mrs. Roosevelt's benign tolerance forsakes her at the very mention of Senator McCarthy, one of Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow Americans who never murdered anybody.

Mrs. Roosevelt, as all the world knows, hates smearing. Whenever one of her friends is identified as a Communist, she waxes—bitter, if not eloquent. At any rate, she waxes.

Shortly after Whittaker Chambers identified Alger Hiss as an underground Communist, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote:

"Smearing good people like Lauchlin Currie, Alger Hiss, and others is, I think, unforgivable . . . anyone knowing either Mr. Currie or Mr. Hiss, who are two people I happen to know fairly well, would not need any denial on their part to know they are not Communists."

HISSES AT HISS'S EXPOSERS

Nowadays, Mrs. Roosevelt says simply that the Hiss case was a sad one, and, anyway, even if Hiss was a Communist spy, he could never have done as much harm to America as the people who exposed him have done. And Mrs. Roosevelt has never ceased calling Whittaker Chambers nasty names.

Whittaker Chambers—a devout and sincere man whose testimony was of inestimable value in informing and alerting the American people about a grave and hidden danger to their nation—has been called everything from a moral degenerate to a psychopathic liar, by the very liberals whose sensibilities are so tender when Joe McCarthy lashes out at one of his "Fifth Amendment Communists."

Communists who leave the conspiracy but keep quiet and protect their former comrades are left alone. But let one of them, trying to atone for his past sins against God and man, expose a hidden Communist, and he is viciously attacked by the liberals.

Perhaps this hatred of ex-Communists on the part of some liberals is due to their own intimate flirtations with communism in the past. They coddled the Communist youth, signed petitions, invited Communists to the White House, and poured their money into the Communist party and its fronts.

Today, they do not like the Commu-

(Continued on Page 61)

—Wide World Photo

Joseph Rauh

—Wide World Photo

Palmer Hoyt

—Wide World Photo

Harvey Matusow

The Untold Oppenheimer Story

(Continued from Page 16)

became Mrs. Oppenheimer. The logical conclusion was that a former husband named Harrison had been killed in Spain. Committee investigations soon disclosed the fact that Katherine had been married to a Richard Stewart-Harrison, and up to the time of her last marriage in November, 1940, she often signed her name *Katherine Stewart-Harrison.*

I did much of the research work on her background. One fact after another came to light. It was learned that she was a native of Germany, daughter of Frank Puening, a chemist. Her father came to the United States and lived for some time at Aspinwall, Pa., and through his naturalization Katherine obtained derivative citizenship. She had been educated at Aspinwall High School, the university at Pittsburgh, Pa., the University of Wisconsin, the University of Grenoble, in France, the university in Munich, Germany, UCLA in Los Angeles and the University of California at Berkeley. Her scholastic record was a brilliant one indeed, and in extraordinary intelligence she is not far from the level of her famous present husband. At first she majored in languages and in physics, then turned to study of botany with specialization in study of fungus.

Instead of having had only one former husband, the one killed in Spain, I found that her marriage to Dr. Oppenheimer is her fourth one. After I learned the facts to my own satisfaction, much additional research was required for positive confirmation. About the age of twenty-one she had married a man named Ramseyer. After an annulment *she married Joseph Dallet, an important and high-ranking Communist official.*

Dallet's record as a leading Red went back to 1927 or earlier. In 1928 he had been in charge of the Communist department, for the state and district of Ohio, for infiltration of the armed forces and operated under my directives as head of the national department. Dallet had worked closely with Betty Gannett and Israel Amter, the leading Communist officials in Ohio during the late twenties. For a brief time, Dallet had been acting District Organizer of the Young Communist League in Ohio. During most of the early thirties Dallet was a leading official of the Communist party in the Youngstown area, working under direction of the veteran Red leader, John Steuben. Dallet had also carried on Communist activities in the Chicago area.

For evidence of Dallet's important role in the Communist conspiracy over a period of many years one has only to read Steve Nelson's book, published about two years ago. Both went to Spain in 1936 to serve in the Communist organized "Abraham Lincoln" Brigade. I found considerable evidence that Katherine was active in the Communist party during the years she was married to Dallet. (She admitted this in testimony at the AEC hearings in 1954.)

It is interesting to note that during the time Katherine was married to Dallet she never used his name in obtaining American passports—using her maiden name at that time, which had been restored after annulment from Ramseyer. Even after I learned that she had been married to Dallet, I had no documentary records to prove it, and I know of none today other than her own sworn admission at the 1954 AEC hearings.

A year or two after Dallet's death in Spain during 1937, Katherine married Richard Stewart-Harrison of England, now apparently a California resident. It appears that she obtained a divorce from him on November 1, 1940, and married Dr. Oppenheimer the same day.

Unfortunately, notes I had given the California committee indicating Dallet and not Harrison was the name of the former husband killed in Spain apparently were overlooked when the 1951 report was being prepared, and the only error I have found in this published document was the incorrect reference to him as "Stewart-Harrison."

Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife, however, were only two of the dozens of records studied by the California committee, and I made an extensive study of documentation on the FAECT.

Minutes of Chapter 25 of Marcel Scherer's FAECT that had fallen into the hands of the committee revealed discussions and activities little short of treason.

The minutes of a meeting held at 8 p.m., April 7, 1943, at the home of Irving David Fox, contain such verbatim statements as these:

> Ray Dunn stated that it would be necessary to obtain a complete personnel list of the employees with the Radiation Laboratory and that this could best be obtained from the personnel office. Dr. Nelson raised an objection to this procedure, stating that the filching of such a list would probably come to the attention of the FBI, which would make trouble for the FAECT.
>
> Ted Finkelstein stated that many people he contacted objected to joining the union as they felt that the FAECT was Communist-controlled and favored cooperation after the war in setting up a Communist government in the United States. In answer to this Ray Dunn stated that he understood this attitude as he felt the same way—stated that the U.S. Communist party should set up its own government in this country.

And from minutes of a meeting of the FAECT Executive Board held on

—Wide World Photo

Robert R. Davis

—Wide World Photo

David Bohm

—Wide World Photo

Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz

—Wide World Photo

Dr. Bernard Peters

—Wide World Photo

Dr. Joseph Weinberg

—Wide World Photo

Irving David Fox

April 14, 1943, we found:

> ...Bernard Peters stated that it is absolutely necessary to get a good foothold on the hill... (in reference to the Radiation Laboratory).... Bernard Peters suggested that the committee pass on all material to forestall any possible leakage of information.

From minutes of meetings of FAECT Executive Board on May 5, 1943:

> Noel Bartlett stated that he would ask the mail girl in his department on the hill to distribute the leaflets or notifications of the FAECT as if they were checks. David Fox suggested that these leaflets be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection.

Such were the more "open" and "legal" activities of Communist scientists while they were working on the atomic bomb!

The committee found that the War Manpower Commission of Northern California, which had much to do with assignment of personnel to such projects as the atomic bomb research and development, had known Communists on it during war years, with possibly an actual majority of Reds! One of the members of the War Manpower Commission had been Paul Heide. In 1941, Heide was a member of the County Committee of the Communist party, while I was county organizer. He was and is one of Harry Bridges' right-hand men, a leading paid official of the ILWU.

With this and much additional knowledge the California committee prepared for public hearings to be held in Oakland in May of 1950. The committee felt that it was time to bring such facts to the attention of the country.

During the three-day hearings May 8-9-10, 1950, Sylvia and I both testified in public to the fact that we had attended a Communist party meeting in 1941 at the home of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer—a meeting at which the scientist himself was present. This news made big headlines, especially in Western newspapers, but unfortunately it was not followed up by hearings in Washington which could have placed all of the facts before the entire country.

The California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, once known as the "Tenney Committee" but long headed by Democratic Senator Hugh Burns, has been the pioneer in investigation and exposure of matters relating to Soviet atomic espionage. In 1946 the committee held hearings in Oakland that threw the first real light on the subject. The state committee that year laid the foundation for subsequent nationwide investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities at Washington during the 1947-49 period. The California committee has always been interested in results rather than publicity and often has given its information to other committees and security agencies without any effort to claim "credit."

The additional discoveries made during the first four months of 1950 and the light I had been able to throw on the background as a result of my own experiences inside the conspiracy made it essential to hold new hearings in the state.

The committee subpoena powers were limited to California and many important potential witnesses like Steve Nelson, Marcel Scherer, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his wife Katherine, and Kenneth May were in 1950 all residing in other states. We had hoped and expected that the House Committee on Un-American Activities would pick up where the state committee had to stop and would subpoena all necessary witnesses to go thoroughly into the new facts to be brought out.

During the three days of hearings the committee went into several fields of Communist activities in the state and especially in the Bay area, throwing new light on the North American Aviation strike of 1941 and other activities of the Communist party for sabotage of defense production up to June 22. But the background of atomic espionage was the most important aspect of the hearings. This necessarily included all Communist party activities around the radiation laboratory and the "Manhattan Project" and employment of Communists on nuclear research, regardless of whether each individual had any direct connection with actual transmission of information to the Kremlin or not. Obviously, only a few would have been called upon for such tasks of "honor," responsibility and great danger. In most cases, it was only a matter of employing the maximum number of party members and sympathizers possible, of cooperation between the party members in working for the promotion of each other, and of building the party's front, the FAECT. No line of demarcation could be drawn between so-called "legal" activities of the Communist party in the field of atomic research and the transmission of data to the Soviet government. One was impossible without the other.

My wife Sylvia was the first to identify Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as having been present at the Communist meeting at 10 Kenilworth Court. The press associations carried the news throughout the country, but without any details of the process through which the house had been found and identified, and the chain of evidence that made a mistake or deliberate misrepresentation equally impossible. In fact, many of the details leading to discovery of the house were not revealed. It was expected that these would be brought out at a more suitable time, when Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife should accept the committee invitation to come to California and testify, or they, together with me and my wife and other key witnesses, should be subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

While the hearings were still in progress, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer issued what the committee regarded as an evasive and double-meaning press statement. The committee's printed re-

port, issued the following year, said:

> While the hearing was in progress and immediately after Mr. Crouch had testified concerning the 1941 special section meeting, Dr. Oppenheimer was contacted by representatives of the press in New Jersey and issued a statement dated May 9, 1950. In commenting on Crouch's testimony concerning the special section meeting Oppenheimer said: "I have never been a member of the Communist party. *I never assembled any such group of* people for any such purpose in my home or anywhere else. *I am unable to recall* any gathering in my house that could reasonably have been mistaken for such a meeting. Neither the name Crouch nor the accounts of Mr. and Mrs. Crouch recall to me anyone I have ever known." [Committee's italics.]
>
> The testimony of Mr. Crouch made it quite clear that this meeting, like all of the other special section meetings, was "assembled" by Kenneth May and Rudy Lambert, and Dr. Oppenheimer was never said to have "assembled" this particular meeting at his residence. . . .
>
> The committee, while still sitting in open session in Oakland, publicly invited Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife to appear *and testify under oath*. The committee would like to inquire about the political activities of Mrs. Oppenheimer and her first husband; about Dr. Oppenheimer's own affiliations with other organizations besides the teachers' union mentioned by him in his prepared statement; about his political connections in San Francisco, and other aspects of his activities that were developed during and since the Oakland hearing.
>
> From the foregoing account one is necessarily impressed by the fact that Steve Nelson was the particular man who replaced Crouch as head of the Communist party of Alameda County in 1941 . . . that the Soviet espionage ring had developed many reliable contacts in the atomic field through the FAECT and the special section of the party in Berkeley . . . that these three men, Eltenton, Chevalier and Ivanov, were unanimous in picking Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as the most suitable man to contact. They knew his record much better than our own security agencies, and they evaluated him as a potential traitor.—From pages 242 and 243, *Sixth Report Un-American Activities in California, 1951.*

Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife neither accepted the committee's invitation to come to California and testify under oath, nor did they make any comment on it.

Even before adjournment of the California hearings, Representative Richard Nixon, then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, issued a press statement expressing "full confidence" in the "loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer."

It should be noted that there was nothing in the facts brought out in the Oakland hearings that would necessarily prove that the scientist was not loyal *in 1950*. But there was evidence that if he and his wife were fully loyal in 1950 they were in a position to give the country much needed information about the Red conspiracy and Soviet agents with whom both had associated (Nelson and others). The public statement of Mr. Nixon (now the Vice-President) undoubtedly played into the hands of those who have been so anxious to prevent a thorough and public investigation of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's entire background and activities.

The California committee's expectations of investigations and hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington failed to materialize, and for a year there were few public developments.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer continued to have full access to all secrets in the field of nuclear research, including the hydrogen bomb he tried to prevent the country from making. In April of 1951, he was appointed by President Truman to the Science Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization.

Requests by the Department of Justice for my services elsewhere took me away from California and my work with its state committee on June 1, 1950. Events of the next seven months took me to Seattle, New York, and back to my home in Miami.

—Wide World Photo

A working model, one-fourth the size of a great Bevatron, is examined by scientists at the University of California Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif. Right of center in foreground is small cyclotron.

In March of 1951, I received a letter from Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the newly organized U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, asking me to come to Washington at my earliest convenience for testimony. Arriving in the capital the following month I found that the committee wished to go into the field of atomic espionage and the background of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and to take up where the California committee had to stop.

On May 8, 1951, one year to a day after opening of the California committee's hearings in Oakland, I testified in executive session before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, with Senator Homer Ferguson presiding. I gave the committee the facts that are presented here *in full* to the country for the first time.

After presenting these facts, and still under oath, I said to the committee:

> The conclusion . . . is that the United States has never had any atomic secrets not known to the Soviet government. Even the major facts passed by Fuchs and possibly duplicated through other unknown channels needed to be supplemented by the reports of many specialists in different fields. In such a highly complex and complicated field as the atomic bomb and its production, it is obvious that not even one with the knowledge of Dr. Oppenheimer or Fuchs would have or could ever remember all of the intricate details directed by scores of subordinates.
>
> I do not mean to imply that even half of the fifty Communists working on the atomic projects were involved in espionage for the Soviet Union. The smallest possible numbers are used directly for actual theft of confidential information. But the entire party organization played a role in it, and no 'politically developed' Communist could have been ignorant of the real objectives. In most cases, it would be a matter of trying to get other Communists on the projects, promote those under them in preference to others, and always praise and seek to advance their superiors who were party members. We must not forget that at this time the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, both in war against Germany, therefore the Communists would be hard workers—doing everything possible to perfect the bomb in the shortest possible time. The Communists logically had two objectives. First, perfect the bomb for use against Germany, an enemy of the Soviet Union. Second, to see that important data be passed to the Soviet government so that it would have every possible advantage in the future war between the United States and the Soviet Union.
>
> Perhaps it was correct to use Communists on the atomic project. Certainly,

(Continued on Page 58)

(Continued from Page 26)

IDAHO

Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun	9:00 a
Boise	KIDO-TV*	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL**	1400	To be announced	
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
	KLIX-TV*	11		
	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

ILLINOIS

Bloomington	WBLN-TV**	15	Fri	9:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WKRO‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WLS*		Sat	6:15 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ-AM**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ-FM**	98.9	Wed	8:00 p
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEI**	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI**	1540	Sun	
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sat	4:00 p

INDIANA

Bedford	WBIW‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Fort Wayne	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Jasper	WITZ**	980	Sun	1:00 p
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WASK‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Lafayette	WFAM-TV*	59	Sun	8:00 p
Portland	WPGW*	1440	To be announced	
	WPGW**	1440	To be announced	
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun	5:00 p

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
	KCRG‡	1600	Thurs	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KROS‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:30 p
	KDEC‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:15 p
	KGTV-TV*	17	Fri	7:00 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KFJB‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KRIB‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:30 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KBIZ‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Storm Lake	KAYL*	990	Sun	9:35 a
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL‡	1330	Thurs	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sun	1:00 p

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To subscribe, see Page 45

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KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
	KGNO‡	1370	Thurs	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Hutchinson	KWHK**	1260	Sun	
	KTVH-TV*	12	Sat	3:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
	KIND‡	1010	Thurs	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sat	6:00 p
Pittsburg	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KSAL‡	1150	Thurs	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WKIC‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
	WSON‡	860	Thurs	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX**	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WAVE*	970	Sun	1:30 p
	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	730	Sun	1:30 p
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WPKE‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT**	960	To be announced	

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	WJBO*	1150	Fri	9:45 p
	Rebroadcast		Sun	8:15 a
Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Lake Charles	KPLC*	1470	Sun	9:15 p
	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
	KTAG-TV*	25	Thurs	7:00 p
Mansfield	KDUC**	1360	Sun	4:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV*	8	Sat	5:30 p
New Orleans	WNOE**	1060	To be announced	
	WNOE‡	1060	Thurs	8:30 p
	WJMR-TV**	61	Sun	2:00 p
	Retelecast		Mon	9:30 p
	WJMR-TV*	61	Sun	9:00 p
	Retelecast		Mon	4:30 p

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

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MARGARET OSMAN
R. R. 1, Box 113, Hope, Ind.

I am both amazed and pleased to note the wonderful aim of your organization and the constructive way in which you really do what is needed to be done . . .

DR. GORDON NEAL
423 West Gridley, Bushnell, Ill.

This will acknowledge the free issues (March) which you mailed to us. It is by far one of the most impressive magazines it has ever been my pleasure to read. Please send your Facts Forum cards each month . . . I predict great things for your magazine if you continue along the lines . . .

C. B. STACEY
Guaranty Deposit Bank, Cumberland, Ky.

I certainly enjoyed your STATE OF THE NATION program. . . . In fact . . . I would like if possible a transcript . . . You are doing a wonderful job. . . .

DOUGLAS CADDY
1567 Webster St., New Orleans, La.

[Ed. note: Facts Forum gladly furnishes transcripts of any of its radio and television programs.]

After hearing . . . the two views of "Ike's Highway Program" [May issue] . . . I was very much impressed and would like to have a transcript. . . .

GEORGE PINKERTON
Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa

. . . Your broadcast . . . was the finest and most logical talk I have heard. . . . Please send me a complimentary copy of that broadcast and permission to publish it, if possible.

LEON L. PORTER
Clarksdale, Miss.

. . . Find it most interesting, educational and should say, very stimulating at times. I don't believe that there is another magazine that is as accurate as yours, either pro or con on a question. Keep up the good work!

H. A. "RED" MUELLER
915 North German St., New Ulm, Minn.

We would be pleased to receive the poll cards each month. Our meetings are held each . . . month and we could distribute them to the members at that time, also when mailing notices to our members who are not in attendance . . .

CHARLES J. WEBER—F.S.
Editor—*The Assembly*
P. O. Box 411, Detroit 31, Mich.

I've been listening to Dan Smoot and the "pro and con" for quite some time, and with varying interest, according to whatever prejudice I happened to have. But Dan Smoot wins out, and here's my check for . . . subscription to the *Facts Forum News* . . .

SAMUEL M. SIMMONS
1221 W. 62nd St., Kansas City 13, Mo.

Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
	KSLO**	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS**	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KENT‡	1550	Thurs	8:30 p

MAINE

Orono	WORO*		To be announced	
Portland	WCSH*	970	Sun	1:15 p

MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Baltimore	WBAL*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Cambridge	WCEM**	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOC-TV*	16	Tues	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WBZ*	1030	Mon	8:15 p
	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WNAC‡	680	Thurs	9:30 p
Holyoke	WREB**	930	Sun	2:30 p
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV*	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB**	1240	Fri	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Sun	3:00 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WATZ‡	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV*	20	Fri	8:00 p
	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
	WBCK‡	930	Thurs	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WATT‡	1240	Thurs	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Detroit	WJR*	760	Sun	10:30 p
	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
	WDBC‡	680	Thurs	9:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1570	Sat	12:30 p
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WIKB‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
	WJMS‡	630	Thurs	8:30 p
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Wed	7:30 p
	WILS-TV*	54	Thurs	7:30 p
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMBN‡	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Sat	9:30 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
	WSGW‡	790	Thurs	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	

MINNESOTA

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KAUS‡	1480	Thurs	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV**	6	Fri	8:00 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KBUN‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	To be announced	
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p
Wadena	KWAD‡	920	Thurs	8:30 p

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA**	1240	To be announced	
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WLOX‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WJMB‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Canton	WDOR*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOR**	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WRBC‡	1300	Thurs	8:30 p
	WSLI-TV**	12	To be announced	
	WJTV-TV*	25	Tues	6:00 p
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC**	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS‡	960	Thurs	8:30 p
Charleston	KCHK*		To be announced	
Clinton	KDKD**	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
	KHMO‡	1070	Thurs	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK**	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†		Mon	8:30 p
	KWOS‡		Thurs	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSH*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Kansas City	KMBC*	980	Sun	12:15 p
	KMBC-TV*	9	Fri	2:30 p
Kennett	KBOA*	930	Sun	12:15 p
Kirksville	KIRX*	1450	Sat	6:15 p
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KLWT‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM**	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC**	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p

(Continued on Page 41)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

FEW commentators spotted it, but the sensational shakeup in the Kremlin last February bared for a brilliant instant one of the Soviet Union's best kept secrets, namely: the real status of its atomic weapons program. Official Western estimates, such as those made by the Atomic Energy Commission, naturally tend to err on the side of caution, depicting a Soviet atomic colossus possessing practically all the latest nuclear accouterments. But there is another side of the medal, that of a complex industrial operation almost tied in knots by a series of critical bottlenecks of the type that have chronically bedeviled Soviet industry. This was all but spelled out in Marshal Nikolai Bulganin's inaugural address* in which the new premier

1. admitted "many serious shortcomings in many branches of our national economy"
2. blasted "our scientific and research institutions (for) . . . lagging behind in devising machines and production methods corresponding to the present level of world technical achievements"
3. took to task "industrial undertakings which are slow in the practical applications of modern methods"
4. called for the stock-piling of the state's material reserves ("reserves mean our might and strengthening of the country's defense capacity").

All of this confirms what Bulganin didn't spell out. Shortages of electric power, uranium and industrial calculating and control equipment are seriously hampering Soviet atomic production.

Representatives of some eighty countries from both sides of the Iron Curtain will meet in Geneva in August in the first international conference on peaceful uses of atomic energy. The U.S.S.R. was understandably reluctant to agree to participate. It resists any dissemination of its knowledge—all participating nations are invited to donate both know-how and fissionable material for President Eisenhower's suggested "atoms for peace" program—and especially on this subject. What they fear primarily is that the free world may find out that Soviet atomic strength has been less spectacular than is widely believed.

There is good reason to believe that the first Soviet atomic explosion, announced on September 23, 1949, was not of a bomb but merely the stationary discharge of a U-235 chain reaction. Allied intelligence gives credence to a report of a German engineer POW who got out of the Soviet Union late in 1951 after talking with German laborers and technicians of the Soviet atomic project. The modest explosion in the Kara Kum Desert in the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic close to Iran registered on Western detection devices.

In spite of theoretical advances, Soviet mastery of practical application had then evidently not gone far enough to enable them to manufacture a portable bomb. Yet the test was more than a scientific success, for it set the West to guessing, and probably to overestimating Soviet atomic strength. Thus was overcome a Soviet diplomatic handicap that had begun in 1945 with the establishment of the American A-bomb monopoly. The next Soviet atomic explosions were recorded in October 1951. These indicated that a bomb had been produced but that the problem of mass production for stock-piling was unsolved.

The Russians have always been strong on atomic theory. Dr. Peter Kapitza, lured back from his 13-year self-imposed exile in Great Britain, has been working on atomic fission since 1935, long before the Manhattan Project got underway in the U.S. He was seconded by such noted Soviet nuclear physicists as Messrs. Ivanenko, Frenkel, Leipinsky and Zeldovich. But Soviet achievements have been due in considerable part to some two hundred German nuclear scientists and technicians rounded up and transported to the U.S.S.R. in 1945. Among these were pupils and assistants of Professor Otto Hahn who split the atom in 1938, something that the Russians did not duplicate until well after World War II. Substantial Soviet knowledge also came from the United States and Great Britain through espionage.

But the translation of theoretical knowledge to production operations has been difficult. Plant capacity is not like that of the U.S., which could draw on her metallurgical, chemical, machine tool, electronics and transportation industries at will. Even with its assembled know-how, Russia had to do a fantastic amount of pulling and hauling to arrange the vast integrated effort that atomic weapons production requires.

When a branch of Soviet industry decides that it needs to break a specific production log jam, it can bring terrific pressure, ingenuity and material together, but this inevitably puts a sharp crimp into some other sector of the economy. Production of atomic weapons, the most complex of all industrial operations, practically precludes, however, starving any area to feed another. All areas are essential. The required integration of national industrial resources for a full scale atomic weapons program was an acid test of Soviet planners, and they did not emerge unscarred. Today three formidable bottlenecks still plague Soviet atomic industry. The shortages are (1) of fissionable material, (2) of electric power and (3) of industrial calculating and control equipment. Let's take a closer look at them.

RUSSIAN URANIUM SCARCE

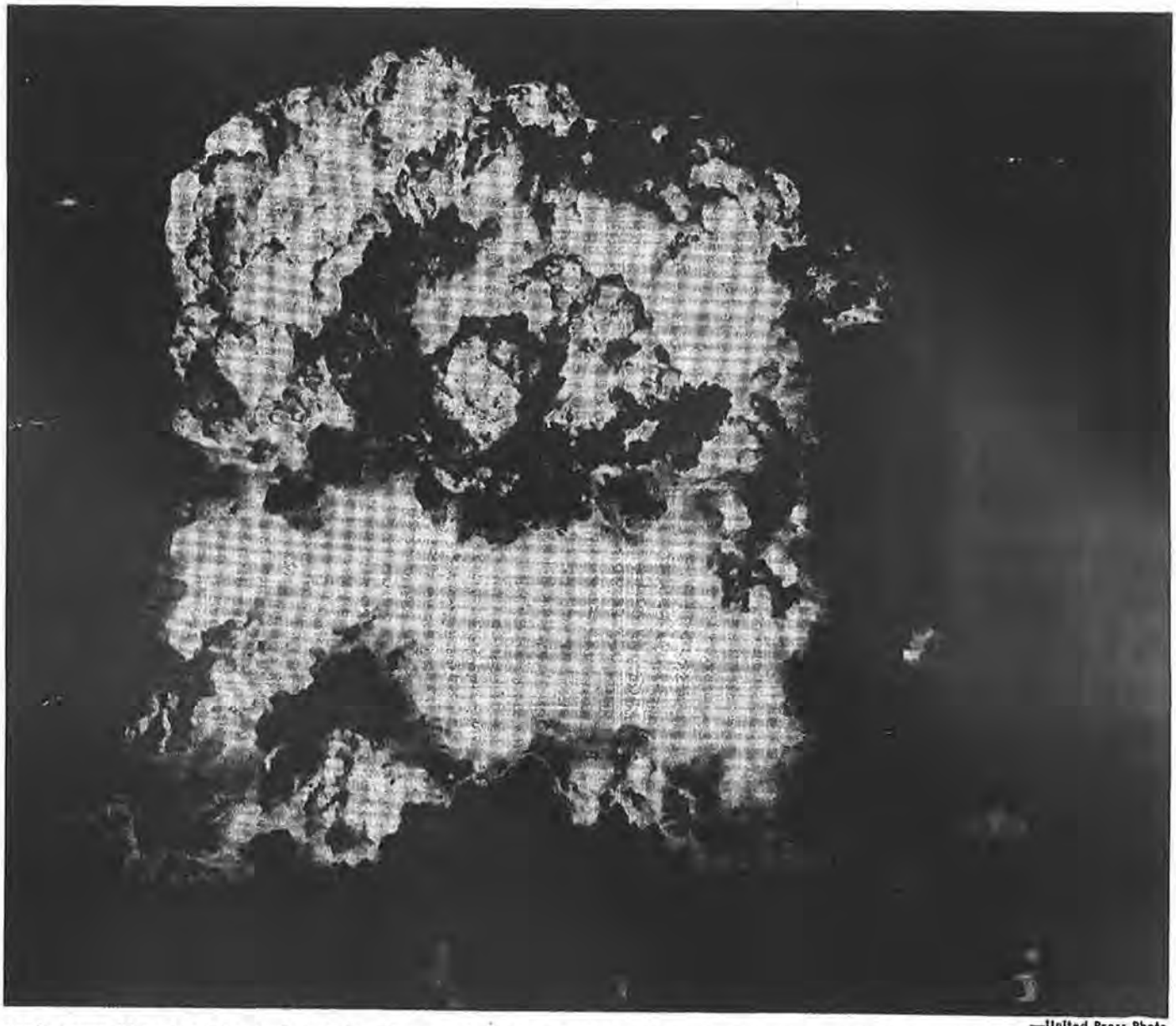
Almost eighty known minerals contain uranium, but less than a dozen are abundant in the earth. For a uranium-bearing mineral to be worth mining it must at least run .2 per cent of U_3O_8. But uranium sources in Soviet Russia are lean and their geographical location unfavorable. The largest deposits are in the black shales and slates of the desert between Lake Balkhash and Afghanistan where uranium-bearing tyuyamuyunite* lies close to the surface. But its richest form assays at best .15 per cent U_3O_8. The second important uranium-bearing

The mushroom cloud has become a symbol of U. have never been published, probably because successf motive is anxiety over Soviet prestige.

Atomic Bo

*See FACTS FORUM NEWS, April, 1955, p. 33, ff.

*From Tyuya Muyun, in Turkistan. Often elided to tyuyamunite.



—United Press Photo

atomic power. More than fifty atomic tests have been conducted, many with extensive publicity. Pictures of similar atomic tests in the Soviet Union tests have not been conducted. Communist propaganda has attempted to halt U.S. testing program, claiming "fall-out" is dangerous. Probable real

tlenecks In The Soviet Union

mineral is the kolm found in Esthonian shale.

Although the grade of uranium is good, mining and processing are costly. There are other uranium-bearing ores in the Petropavlosk region in North Kazakh (pitchblende) and in the Buryat Mongol Republic (betafite). While these deposits may be rich, they are deep and mostly of small (lens) size, rather than the larger veins. Uranium is also found in gold-bearing ores such as those of Kolyma in Northeastern Siberia, worked by slave labor, but a complicated and costly reduction process renders their use economically feasible only when the uranium is a by-product. Incidentally, Soviet gold production has doubled since 1939. Soviet mining engineers recently began to exploit the molybdenum-lead-copper-uranium deposits of the Altai Mountains in East Kazakh. Here uranium concentration is very low. Finally, it is likely that China has granted Russia a long term lease on the slate and shale deposits of the Tien Shan Mountains in Sinkiang, if not over those

(Continued on next page)

by GEORGE G. ROSU

A former Rumanian diplomat and an expert on Eastern European economic questions, especially "energetics," Mr. Rosu, formerly with the Berlin Institute of Economics, has written for American petroleum journals. He will deliver a paper at the World Oil Congress in Rome this summer.

that extend eastward toward the Altai Mountains.

For at least two-thirds of her uranium supply Russia will long have to depend upon East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania. The wisdom of relying mainly on enslaved and dissatisfied areas of Eastern Europe for the raw materials of Soviet atomic weapons is certainly doubted by Russian leaders, but they have found no alternative. And even these deposits in the satellites are substantially inferior to any that are being mined in the West. The famous Joachimstahl pitchblende deposits in Northern Czechoslovakia have been heavily depleted, as evidenced by the number of quarries which have been abandoned over the past seven years according to Iron Curtain escapees to Western Europe. Across the border in East Germany, the best uranium-bearing deposits (bismuth, nickel and cobalt ores) have been exhausted. Soviet technicians are reported to be digging desperately below the 2,000 foot level.

The richest deposits in the whole Soviet Empire are apparently some recently discovered in Bulgaria's Kazanlyk area, but they are only limited lenses. The copper-lead-uranium mines have been intensively exploited during the last six years and will probably soon be exhausted. In the closing months of 1950 there was a sudden sharp upward revision of long-term planning behind the Iron Curtain. Primary attention was shifted to mineral activity, especially uranium and petroleum production. Satellite officials called on the people frantically to "turn the earth upside down" in their search for minerals.

Abandoned silver-lead-copper mines in Rumania's Western Transylvania were reopened for the purpose of picking up some uranium crumbs. We learn from the Communist press that teams of satellite geologists and geophysicists are indefatigably seeking new uranium deposits throughout the captive area. Traces may be found in Poland and Albania, but hopes of strikes in Hungary seem to be unfounded. Meanwhile flotation plants and installations for primary concentration have been built in the satellites and Soviet technicians and police have been pouring in to man them and guard them. But the high-priority construction of these ore-processing stations resulted in bottleneck number two: a persisting shortage of electric power.

Enormous quantities of electricity are needed to convert uranium ore into fissionable material. Complex diffusion plants take the biggest bite. Annual consumption in one of these plants is measured in billions of kilowatt-hours. Even if coal were abundant thermoelectric power would be ruinously expensive. Only cheap hydroelectric energy can do the job. On August 21, 1950, the Soviet Council of Ministers decided to start building a big hydroelectric station at Kuibyshev. Subsequently several other power plants, mining areas, irrigation and afforestation projects were either blueprinted or put into operation. All were later integrated into "Stalin's plan for the transformation of nature." But it turned out that the allegedly peaceful irrigation and afforestation projects were mere sugar coating that gradually melted, revealing the real goal of the program: to create enough hydroelectric power to carry out the Soviet thermonuclear project.

The most important bomb construction site right now is Moscow. The Moscow center's power comes from a remote source and so does the uranium to be processed with it. Electric energy will be supplied by two great hydroelectric plants under construction at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, 545 and 620 miles respectively from the capital. Transmission of electric power over such great distances is uneconomical but the sacrifice is deemed necessary for the bomb project. High tension lines will carry the juice at 400,000 volts. Since neither plant will be ready before 1956, probably no Moscow hydrogen bomb assembly line can be put into operation earlier. By 1957 energy supplied to the Moscow center will attain an estimated maximum total of 5.5 to 6 billion kilowatt-hours of the 11 billion generated at those distant cities.

Work has been started on a chain of hyproelectric power plants on the Irtysh River to supply a diffusion plant near Novosibirsk with several billion kilowatt-hours annually, but not before 1958-59. The main plants are to be at Ust-Kamenogorsk, Ust-Bukhtarme and Ust-Charyshskaya, all relatively close. A third atomic center is slowly going up in the vicinity of the Urals area where two big hydroelectric plants are

—Sovfoto

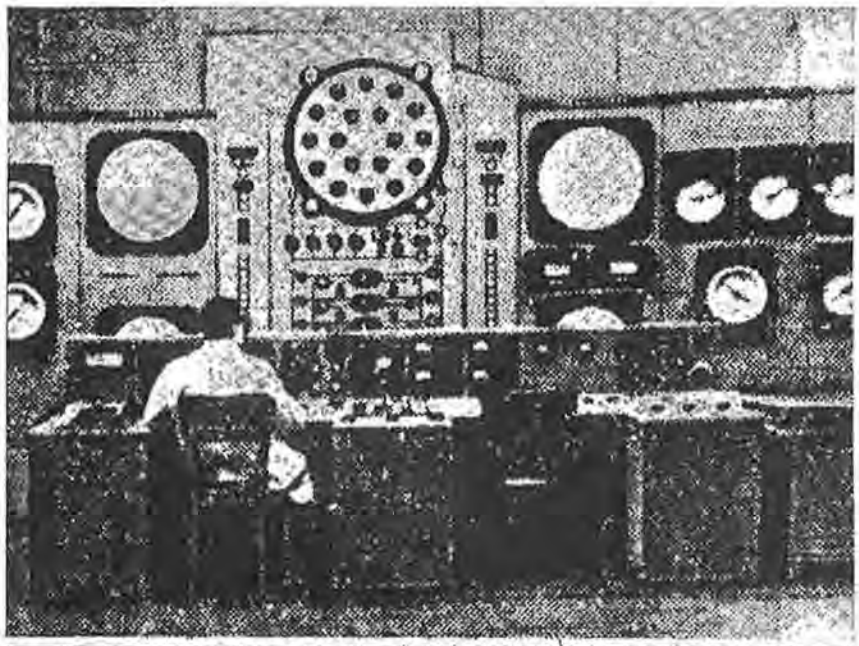
Scientists of the Dokuchayev Agricultural Institute in Kharkov, using the tracer-atom method, have, according to Soviet claim, established the speed with which the leaves of plants absorb fertilizers. Periodic table of elements in background is universally-used scheme developed originally by Russian scientist of Czarist Age, D. I. Mendeleev.

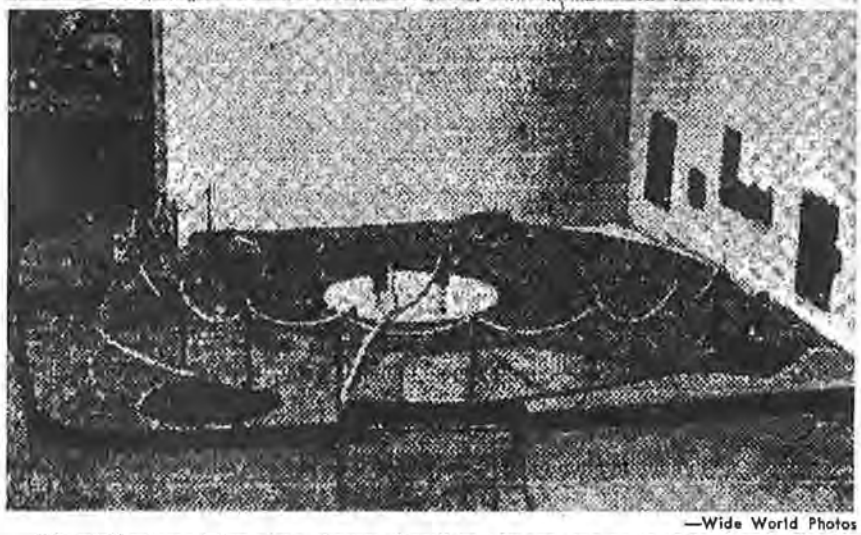
now being built, one on the Kama River, the other on the Volga. A fourth center is slowly taking shape at Alma-Ata to process uranium from the Kirghiz and Tadzhik Republics and Sinkiang. Its hydroelectric plant drawing power from adjacent rivers had almost been completed there. A fifth atomic center is being built near Irkutsk, a region with below-freezing temperatures for six months of the year. Construction of a larger plant was started here in 1949, when pumps and compressors were provided by the dismantling program in East Germany. The power station now being put up is no giant. But the government plans to develop on the Angara River, probably after 1957, the Soviets' largest hydroelectric plant.

Ex-premier Malenkov's new assignment as minister to electric power stations indicates the importance of the new power program: treble the U.S.S.R.'s electric power output in the next ten years. It is now 142.5 billion kilowatt-hours per year (1954). In the same year the U.S. electric power output was 520 billion kilowatt-hours of which the Atomic Energy Commission took a 4 per cent bite. By 1956 that will be upped to a whopping 13 per cent and total output will be greater also.

No thermonuclear or atomic weapons progress is imaginable without the aid of electronic calculating equipment and the various specialized instruments used for measuring and controlling manufacturing processes. The production of these — bottleneck number three — was beyond the means of postwar Soviet technology and plant capacity. Consequently all laboratories and research institutes were divested of precision instruments and calculating devices, mostly of foreign origin, in order to prepare the first atomic explosion. A tremendous effort has since been made to bridge the gap. In the early postwar years Soviet atomic industry was so desperately short of electronic calculating equipment that no attempt to set up a native industry seemed worthwhile, because of the time element. The burden of producing the equipment was loaded, in large part, on the satellites, especially the Siemens-Schukert plant in East Berlin.

To get into the thermonuclear weapons realm a huge complex of electronic calculating equipment and industrial control devices are required. Their lack in the Soviet Union cost Russian atomic progress several precious years. Executives of the Emil Greiner Company, one of the leading producers and developers of scientific tools for industry in America, say the United States is at least ten years ahead of any other country when it comes to instruments designed to do a faster or more precise job in numerous new manufacturing processes.





—Wide World Photos

"Pravda" released these two pictures describing the top one as Russia's Atomic Electric Power Station, and the lower one as the roped-off top of atomic reactor which is embedded in concrete. Diameter of reactor top is probably around twenty-five feet.

In an article published in *Izvestia* last May, Soviet Academician A. Berg claimed with what can be termed a shout of joy, that Russia now possesses "the electronic miracle machines," that they occupy hundreds of square meters and that Russia had to "purchase them at a very high price." What Academician Berg did not say was that the celebration was made possible by the work of abducted German scientists and the industrial capacity of the satellite countries. And the achievements that prompted Berg's glee probably sufficed only to take Soviet atomic technicians to the threshold of H-bomb production. New advances bring new problems and due to the Soviet orbit's limited electronics plant capacity, Soviet atomic science may again be held back by the calculating equipment and precision instrument bottleneck.

The general consensus of experts is that Soviet atomic weapons production is still a fraction of that of the U.S.— perhaps one-tenth. The Soviet nuclear weapons program is being maximally expedited, and it would be dangerous folly to underestimate Russian strength in this domain. But despite a four year hiatus in serious U.S. thermonuclear activity (1946-1950), Soviet atomic and hydrogen progress cannot compare with what has been done here. The hard fact is that in 1955 the U.S.S.R.'s responsible atomic energy officials have still not opened up the three major bottlenecks. And the strain of their atomic effort has been so great that even nine years after the war Malenkov's feeble effort to abate the famine of consumer goods had to be disavowed publicly.

Where Is the Soviet Sandia?

A sound estimate of Soviet atomic power is essential to sound U.S. policy. The common assumption to date has been represented by Robert Oppenheimer's famous comparison of the U.S. and the Soviet Union to "two scorpions in a bottle," and has led to President Eisenhower's formula for surrender—"there is no alternative to peace."

There are, however, alternatives to the assumption that the Soviet Union is genuinely competitive with the U.S. in atomic power. George G. Rosu's account (pp. 32-33) is a rare but impressive article of corroboration of the thesis propounded in 1953 by Medford Evans. The contrasting view of Henry J. Taylor is presented on page 39.

Chapter II from *The Secret War for the A-Bomb* * by MEDFORD EVANS

There has been very little unequivocal truth spoken about atomic energy since 1945. This is due to

(1) The natural difficulty of getting a complex subject straight,

(2) Positive elements of deception introduced into the discussion for partisan reasons, most notably by Soviet agents, and

(3) Well intended notions of giving the public what is thought to be good for it from the point of view of some kind of social psychiatry, instead of the best available approximation of the facts, complete with indications of probable error.

THE TRUMAN HERESY

The classic illustration of the reliability of official U.S. releases was given by Harry S. Truman in January 1953, just one week to the day after he left the White House.

"I am not convinced," the ex-President told an INS reporter in Kansas City—"I am not convinced the Russians have achieved the know-how to put the complicated mechanism together to make an A-bomb work. I am not convinced they have the bomb."

Newsweek (February 9, 1953) headlined this: " 'Ground Zero' in Kansas City; Harry Truman Drops an A-Bomb," and indeed it was a catastrophe for supporters of the official propaganda line. AEC Chairman Dean, Senator Hickenlooper, and President Eisenhower immediately issued statements of contradictory import. This was necessary but almost irrelevant. The news was not that Harry Truman *doubted the Russian A-bomb;* the news was that *Harry Truman* doubted the Russian A-bomb. And there was, of course, nothing that Dean or Hickenlooper or Eisenhower could do about that.

The whole affair was like the apostasy of an archbishop. The lowliest vicar is shaken by the repercussions, no matter how demonstrably in error the apostate may be.

It had been Truman who, speaking officially, had startled the world in September 1949 with an announcement of an "atomic explosion" in the U.S.S.R. The credibility of that announcement depended almost entirely on the assumption that the President of the United States, in such a matter, could not be mistaken and would not be deceptive. To question the statement was to imply the fallibility of the White House—understanding that the whole executive bureaucratic process is involved, not just the integrity and judgment of one man.

To understand calmly the gravity of Truman's offense, one must understand that upon the dogma promulgated in September 1949—the dogma that the Russians had contrived an atomic explosion and, as a corollary, had an atomic energy project of their own—were based:

(1) the justification of a great expansion of the American program of atomic production, and

(2) the cautiously but persistently advanced inference that the American program of "internal security" had been unsuccessful in the past and would be largely an unnecessary impediment in the future.

These propositions were summarized under the slogan "Security by Achievement rather than Security by Concealment," or simply "Security by Achievement."

Much has been staked on this doctrine. It justifies enormous expenditures for the production of fissionable materials, and reckless candor in publication policy. The latter is permitted and the former required by the assumption that the Russians are going great guns in their own atomic energy project.

The slogan "Security by Achievement" appears to have been first introduced into public discussion by Senator Brien McMahon in the summer of 1946.[1] It received fresh impetus when the Majority Report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy — published in 1949, three weeks after the Truman announcement of the first Russian explosion—gave an adverse judgment on Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper's "incredible mismanagement" charges against the then AEC Chairman David E. Lilienthal.[2] At the same time the Congress loosened the purse strings to permit acceleration of the AEC expansion program. (Meanwhile, however, certain enthusiasts for "Security by Achievement" fought tooth and nail in a rear guard action to delay incorporation of hydrogen-bomb development into the plans for Achievement.)

"Security by Achievement" is, of course, spurious rhetoric. There is no more real conflict between "Achievement" and "Concealment" as means of "Security" than there is between the accelerator and the brake as means of secure control of an automobile. Yet this rhetoric—with its implied false dichotomy—was adopted, though the logical ambiguity had been pointed out in an AEC staff memorandum as far back as the summer of 1948. (The author of that memo was later released by "reduction in force" in spite of the "expanding program," and "the difficulty of getting good men in Government." Should I be asked point blank: "Are you implying that he was let go because of that memo?" I should have to reply that obviously the thought had occurred to me, but all I am sure of is that AEC was unfortunate to lose his services, since he was an able man.)

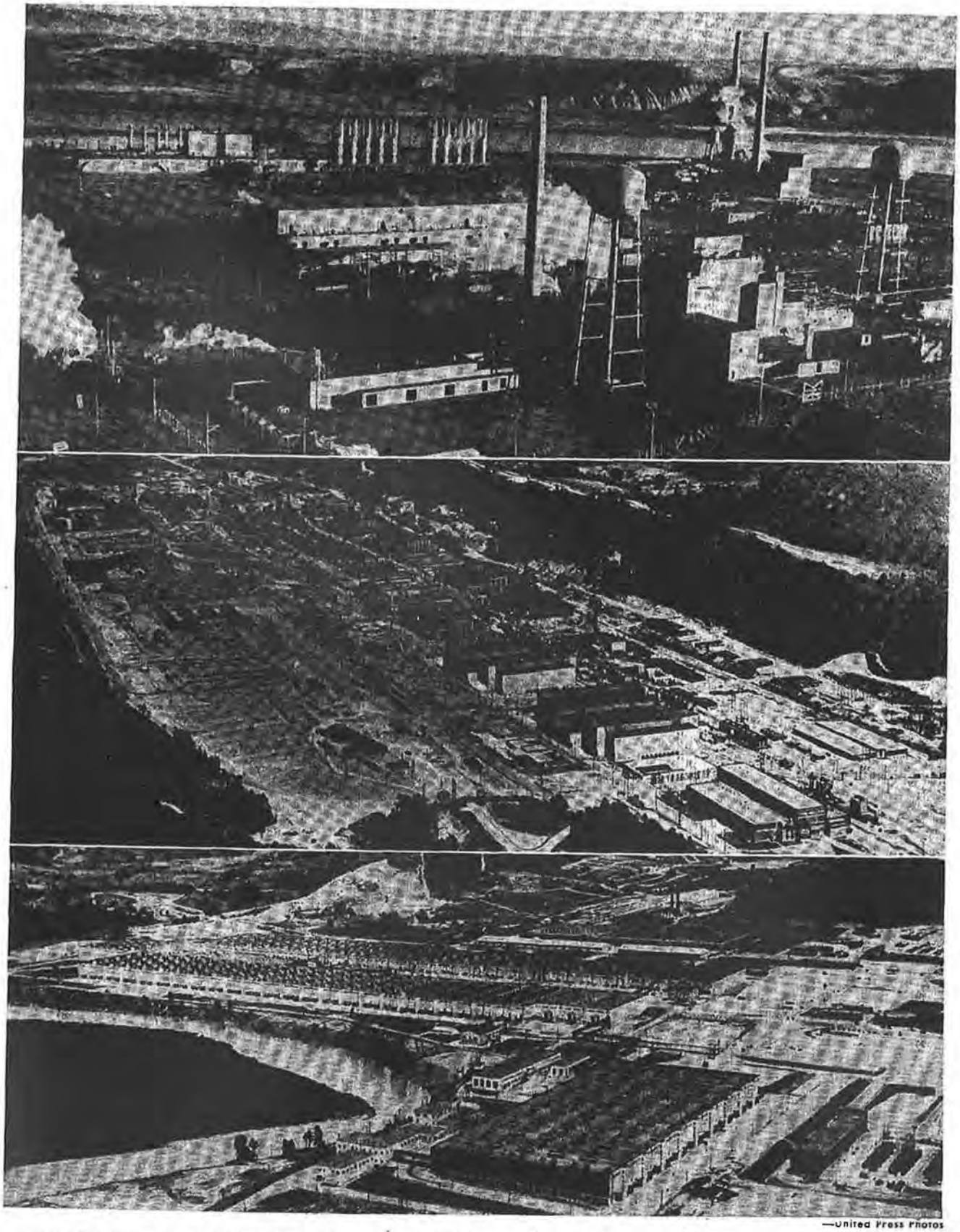
Naturally, the doctrine of "Security

(Continued on Page 38)

**Henry Regnery Company, 1953. Reprinted by permission.*

[1] *Congressional Record.* Vol. 92, Part 7, p. 6082.

[2] *Investigation into the United States Atomic Energy Project, Report of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy* (hereinafter cited as *Investigation Report*), released October 13, 1949 (Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 7-11.



—United Press Photos

Top: Plutonium works at Richland, Wash. Center: Historic Y-12 plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn., where material for Hiroshima bomb was produced. Bottom: Fabulous K-25, jackpot process for U-235, duplicated at Paducah, Ky., and Portsmouth, Ohio. Similar pictures of Soviet plants have never been published, probably because no such plants exist.

(Continued from Page 36)

by Achievement"—backed by the threat of Russian-competition—gained strength daily so long as the fallacious nature of its context was not exposed, for in itself it makes the strongest kind of appeal to an aggressively industrial nation. There is in fact absolutely nothing wrong with such a doctrine *so long as it is not used to exclude or obscure the vital importance of the complementary kind of security represented by prudent concealment and firm exploitation of whatever monopolistic advantages the United States may have achieved or been granted.*

True achievement does not consist of energetically bailing water with a sieve.

A painfully pertinent point is that when Achievement is emphasized not in connection with but at the expense of Concealment, you get an industrial and scientific complex which, being ever larger and looser, is ever more readily infiltrated and milked of the information and materials peculiar to its processes.

More of that in Chapter Four. Meanwhile, what of the credibility of Truman's statement. "I am not convinced they have the bomb"? Will it be all right to examine that on its merits?

I know that in a race you ought to "run scared"; so perhaps we should not do or say anything to lower the common estimate of Russian capabilities, on the ground that it is good for us to believe the Russians are breathing hot on our necks.

How about trying to get the facts straight? There is probably quite enough to be scared about. But wouldn't it be silly, and dangerous, to be scared of the wrong thing?

I submit that the story of Russian competition in atomic energy doesn't stand up very well, even under such an amateur analysis as I can give it. The following historical notes about Russian industry would probably be stipulated, as the lawyers say, by most persons interested in this kind of discussion:

FACTS ON SOVIET INDUSTRY

1. When the Communists took over in 1917, Russian industry, always backward by Western standards, was badly disorganized as a result of the traumatic experiences of World War I. Four years later the situation was worse. Sir Bernard Pares says that "According to Rykov, Commissar for Industry, factory output had fallen by 85 per cent, and what was produced was looted by the workers, and the plant to boot."[3] This was 1921. "We are a backward country," said Lenin in the fall of 1922 (according to Valeriu Marcu); "... our technical efficiency is next to nothing."[4]

2. Russian industrialization began with the first Five-Year Plan, in 1928. At that time, while the United States was producing 5,000,000 automobiles a year, there were in Russia, according to T. Zavalani, Albanian-born graduate of the Marxist-Leninist academy in Leningrad, "no traditions of mechanical production and technical management of a big-scale modern industry."[5]

Nineteen twenty-eight!

Frederick W. Taylor started "scientific management" in America in 1889. Or so they tell me. I can't remember that far back. But I can remember 1928 well enough.

"The Plan," says Pares, "had almost to start from scratch."[6] No wonder that if you take 1928 as a base year you can plot trends and cite percentages which during the succeeding five years make the Soviet Union look good. It had nowhere to go but up.

The American Depression began one year later. The Depression was a trying time, but the Okies went to California by automobile.

—Wide World Photo

Leningrad industrial worker

3. Obviously the first Five-Year Plan and the second and the others represent work and the work had results. Russia in 1938 must have been a formidable industrial power, *compared to the Russia of 1928*, or compared to India or Afghanistan. But, as a student of baseball might say, it is not just where you stand in the league, it's what league you're in.

Possibly the most dramatically successful program of the Russians was that of "electrification." The Dnieper Dam in 1937 had 600,000 kilowatts capacity, or almost one-fourth the capacity of the Grand Coulee today. Yet with this fabulous advance the Russian output of 36.4 billion kilowatt-hours in the great Soviet year 1937 was about one third that of the United States in the terrible Depression year 1937.[7]

4. In 1941 the Germans blew up the Dnieper Dam. That is only one of the things that happened to Soviet industry during World War II. Total destruction by the Germans, and by the Russians themselves in their "scorched-earth" policy of retreat, has been estimated by the Soviets themselves (according to Zavalani) at about a third of the existing capital. The devastated area originally contained two thirds of the heavy industry.[8]

Much has been made of transfers beyond the Urals, but it is hard to think this can have been very efficient considering how transportation is always a bottleneck in the vast Russian land mass, with one fourth the U.S. railway mileage to serve double the U.S. area, and no help from the highway system worth speaking of in the same breath with U.S. highways.

5. Since World War II there has no doubt been much reconstruction under the fourth Five-Year Plan. And a great amount of goods has no doubt been imported into the Soviet Union from Germany—although there is considerable doubt as to what shape it was in when it got to its destination, or what productive use was made of it.

At a Cabinet luncheon on April 28, 1947, General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, reported on a Moscow conference as follows: "Two underlying motifs ran through all the conversations with the Russians—first, money, and second, reparations out of Germany, *i.e.*, in terms of production . . . The Russians have found that *the taking of physical assets does not get them the result they want in terms of goods.* [Italics added.] Even taking of management personnel with the plants does not suffice because the trained labor is not available in Russia.[9]

This, from the Soviet point of view, is a sort of bleak picture, don't you think?

In any case the results of reparation and reconstruction combined seem to have left much to be desired as far as putting the Soviet Union in a seriously competitive position with the United States is concerned. For a particularly important example, the Soviet Union's planned electrical production for 1950 was 82 billion kilowatt-hours.[10] This is indeed well over double the Soviet production of 1937, but it is still only about a fourth the U.S. production for 1950.[11]

(Continued on Page 48)

[3] Bernard Pares, *Russia* (Copyright, by the New American Library of World Literature, Inc.), p. 66.
[4] Valeriu Marcu, *Lenin* (Macmillan, 1928), p. 394.
[5] T. Zavalani, *How Strong Is Russia?* (Frederick A. Praeger, 1952), p. 10.
[6] Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[7] The capacity of the Dnieper Dam and the Soviet electrical energy output are from Zavalani, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and p. 57 respectively. Grand Coulee capacity is given in the 1953 *World Almanac*, p. 185. U.S. output is interpolated from a table in the 1953 *World Almanac*, p. 483.
[8] Zavalani, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-43.
[9] *The Forrestal Diaries*, edited by Walter Millis (Viking, 1951), p. 266.
[10] Zavalani, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
[11] *1953 World Almanac*, p. 483.

Expert's High Rating of Soviet Industry

Mr. Taylor's testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee July 8, 1954, during hearings on "Strategy and Tactics of World Communism."

Gentlemen of the Senate:

This subcommittee is dealing with a subject very dear to my heart. I appreciate your invitation to appear before you and I would be very grateful were it possible for me to make even the smallest contribution to your considerations.

I note your chairman's remark during an earlier testimony on June 10, that "the Communist conspiracy in the United States is only one tentacle of a world-wide octopus which has as its principal target the United States of America."

May I suggest that one of the other tentacles is the Soviet potential through East-West trade from the Soviet point of view.

We read about a new treaty nearly every day, made by England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Sweden, Norway—countries that not long ago thought and feared that by now they might be at war with the Soviet Union.

Top Red economic commissars in the Gosplan Bureau, which controls the nation's entire economy, back up the Soviet Foreign Office in greeting visiting treatymakers and European businessmen who follow close behind; such as the thirty-three British businessmen who recently arrived in special Soviet airline planes.

This, of itself, brought about the biggest burst of Anglo-Soviet business activity ever known in the Russian capital; directors and technicians of twelve British firms negotiating with five Soviet trading agencies. And what these buyers have found in Moscow has made their eyes pop with wonder.

—Photo Courtesy of WFAA, Dallas

Henry J. Taylor is a journalist, economist, author, and radio commentator. His "Your Land and Mine" has been broadcast since 1946. He has contributed to leading periodicals in America and abroad.

The Official Soviet memorandum they received from Gosplan's Central Statistical Board listed things now in good supply in the Soviet Union. The list makes amazing—and thought-provoking—reading:

Oil, iron, manganese ore, gasoline, kerosene, aluminum, large boilers, diesel engines, roller and ball bearings, synthetic rubber, chemicals, dyes—and mountains of wheat and tea.

Take oil, for example. Russia was supposed to be pinched for oil. Yet Russia is selling petroleum products freely to Finland and two of the British merchants were able to sign a series of five contracts to buy three and a quarter million dollars' worth of high-grade Russian refined oil products the first day they arrived. The British negotiators said they were buying 100 thousand tons of these products mainly (interestingly enough) for resale in European markets.

In turn, the Gosplan chiefs bought fifty thousand tons of refined sugar from another Britisher, the biggest such sale in more than twenty years. Had she wished, Russia could have bought this from her satellite states. Several are exporting sugar. And after the contracts were signed the British merchant asked the Gosplan man the equivalent of "How come?" "Trade, not aid," he answered in unsmiling parody of our free-world slogan.

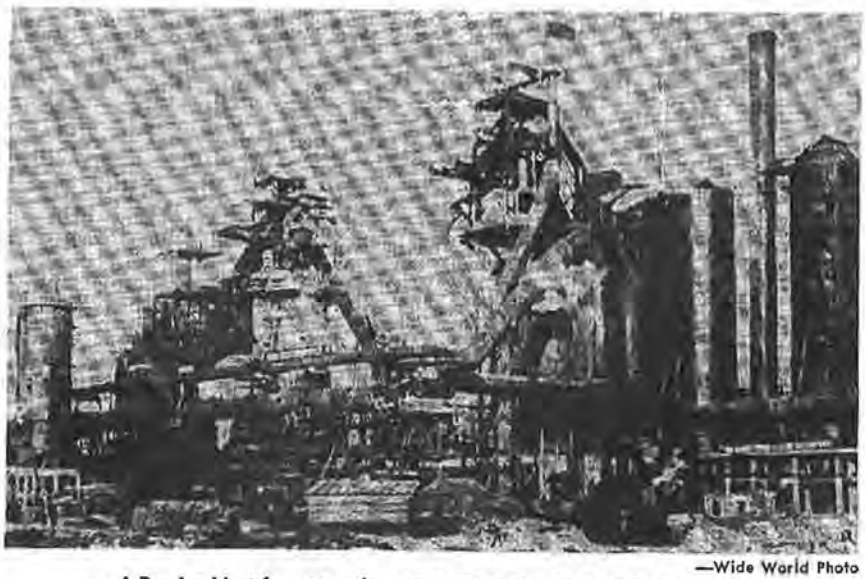
The delegation from Paris announced that Russia's buying under a six-months-old French trade agreement would now be increased. Greek, Argentine, Swiss, Swedish, Norwegian and Italian delegations have made similar announcements, or new treaties, since Malenkov took over. In Zurich Swiss international bankers estimated to me that more than twenty thousand freight cars of materials from Italy alone have found their way behind the Iron Curtain in recent months.

Like the bells on the pigeons of mythical Shangri-La, the siren song of Soviet trade, backed up by Soviet gold, sounds sweet in Europe's ears, especially with American subsidies and aid declining. But the bells should be ringing out a warning.

Right now, Russia, buying at high prices, looks good. Beyond that, West-East trade looks so good (and profitable) that it obscures the fateful prospect of what will happen when giant Russia, already consolidated, turns into a seller of many products Europe makes today.

Products, you say? We laugh at most Russian products we see illustrated; and certainly what is being handed to Soviet civilians is of mighty low order. But come with me for a moment to Finland. It was there I had my first awakening to what the Russians can produce when they want to.

With three Finnish Army reconnaissance scouts I was traveling along the



—Wide World Photo

A Russian blast furnace under construction at a steel plant in Siberia.

Russian frontier in the Arctic forests. A Russian patrol passed and paused on its side of the boundary.

Now, Russian-made radio sets for civilian entertainment are fully as jerry-built, shoddy and primitive as we imagine. Yet here stood that Red Army patrol communicating with its command post over a Russian-made military walkie-talkie as good as any to be seen anywhere in Europe or America.

In Helsinki the Chief of Staff of the Finnish Army, hardly a man to overestimate anything Russian, confirmed to me that the quality of Russia's military radios, radar stations, complicated army communication layouts and devices is excellent in workmanship and design, and amazingly abundant.

The Red civilian automobile, the Probeda, the "people's automobile," is a notorious dud; so is the civilian Moskovitch car. Both are poorly made and collapse quickly. Yet Russian-made military trucks are solidly built and efficient. So are Soviet tanks.

Russian civilian ironwork is crude and clumsy. Yet Russian-made artillery of the most intricate type is the equal today of any in the world. It laid down barrages on us in Korea heavier than any we encountered from the Germans in the last war.

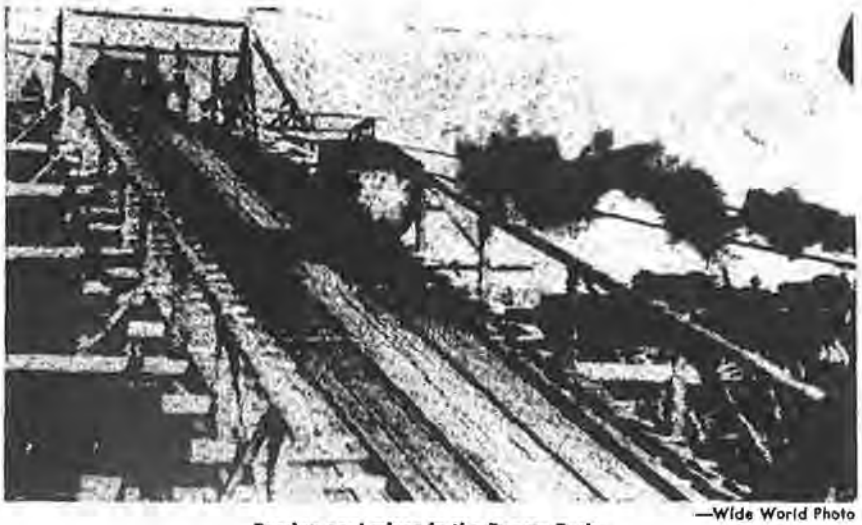
"When the Russians concentrate on getting something done," Finland's Chief of Staff explained, "it's clear to us that they can get it done—done surprisingly well."

Under Stalin they simply concentrated on military output, that's all. And of course there remain numerous bottlenecks and woes obstructing Russia's productivity under Malenkov. But when they concentrate on consumers' goods, watch out!

For that is the key to the Red mystery of the East: concentration. They concentrated on jet airplanes, made a lot of them, and good ones. They concentrated on artillery, made a lot of it, and good artillery. They concentrated on tanks, made a lot of them, and good tanks. They concentrated on intricate radar interception devices, and ended up with a warning network far more extensive and fully as efficient as ours.

The giant consolidated nation that can do these things can make an awful lot of alarm clocks and whatnot any time it wants to and sell them—or barter them—cheaper than Europe can imagine today.

Americans, above all others, should respect that word "consolidated." While Western Europe is still chopped up into some eighteen separate nations, walled off from each other by barbed-wire entanglements of tariffs, currencies, cartels, etc., the Soviets have constructed a vast unified trade area bigger than anything the world has ever seen. It stretches from Berlin to Shanghai. It includes Russia and all its satellites, comprising some 700 million people. Think what that means in terms of both the economics and the economies of mass production, with unlimited and unrestricted access to raw materials and to markets. Even our own United (forty-eight) States are small in comparison.



—Wide World Photo

Russian coal mines in the Donets Basin

Both as a buyer and a seller of consumer goods this vast Soviet trade area can have an overpowering political effect on a divided Europe. As in the Nazi era, markets can be wiped out through the dumping of Russian products. Or conversely, Soviet orders can be switched about from country to country in such a way as to produce crisis, unemployment, and political upheaval within those countries.

The grim and inescapable fact is that there has been enormous industrial and technical progress in the Soviet Union since the war; stupendous by Russian standards and enormous even by our own.

Considering Europe only, there are two population blocs exactly the same size. Western Europe is a disunified grouping of 200 million people. The Soviet Union has 200 million people all its own, completely unified. Russia already produces three-fifths as much steel as all Western Europe and more than half as much coal and electricity. But it is the rate of acceleration, the high speed, in the overtaking of Western Europe by Russia that counts the most.

Britain, for example, as largest coal producer, still has not recovered her prewar coal output. She now plans to increase it twenty million tons a year by the end of the next twelve years. Russia has increased her annual coal production forty million tons since 1950.

Western European steelmakers, even with Marshall Plan aid, have increased annual capacity only eight million tons since the war. The Russians have added twice that capacity since the war and are building mills to double today's total capacity by 1960. It is estimated that by 1965 Russia will equal or surpass all Western Europe in basic industrial production.

Further, much of this output is coming from new, and therefore, modern, machines; and the evil Communist system, of course, contains its own built-in labor supply. Even aside from slave labor, such as at Dalstroy, general manpower is unlimited—and pitiably cheap. Actually the Russian workman is taught that it is patriotic to be exploited for the motherland.

This, then, is the accelerating power for commercial aggression and world upheaval contained in that peasant race now emerging in the industrial age.

It was fear of the dangers and unimaginable horrors of another war, coming from Russia, that aroused and pressed Western Europe toward quarantining this aggressor, its satellites, and its appendages like Red China, by measures both military and economic. Fear is the chief cement which has bound those quarantine efforts together. But as Malenkov holds out the cat-bait of "peace" and fear recedes, the will is weakened, the cement crumbles, the quarantine edifice tends to fall. In fact, the incredible idea seems to take its place: that the way to make communism fail is to help it to succeed.

In the long run, I do not see how the dangers in ignoring the results can be underestimated if Western Europe's employment is to be protected, her standard of living preserved and her very life itself defended against the newly competitive Soviet Union that is to come.

For our part, I assume that everything we do in national policy will be dedicated to combating the fallacious idea that the way to make communism fail is to help it to succeed.

(Continued from Page 31)

	KSGM**	980	To be announced	
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Trenton	KTTN**	1600	Sun	5:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced	
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ°	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230	Sat	
Butte	KXLF°	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p
	KXLF-TV*	6	Wed	7:00 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
	KOJM‡	610	Thurs	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KCAP‡	1340	Thurs	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	
Lewiston	KXLO**	1230		
	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KPRK‡	1340	Thurs	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL‡	1340	Thurs	7:30 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
	KGVO-TV*	13	Sun	8:00 p
Shelby	KIYI†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
	KIYI‡	1230	Thurs	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p
	KGCX‡	1480	Thurs	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**		To be announced	
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	KHAS‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Lincoln	KLMS*	1480	Sun	6:15 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KBRL‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Omaha	KFAB*	1110	Sun	12:15 p
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

NEVADA

Reno	KZTV-TV*	8	To be announced

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**			
	WLDB*	1400	Sun	4:30 p
Millville	WMLV**		Sun	
Pleasantville	WOND°	1400		
	WOND**			
South Orange	WSOU-FM**	206		
	WSOU-FM**	206		

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KABQ‡	1350	Thurs	7:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Farmington	KVBC*	1240		
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
	KFUN‡	1230	Thurs	7:30 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWS-TV°	8	Sun	2:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Mon	9:30 p
	WPTR‡	1540	Thurs	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS°	1490		
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMBO‡	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Wed	10:15 a
Buffalo	WXRA°	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV*	66	Fri	7:30 p
Malone	WICY‡	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WICY‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
New York	WOR*	710	Sat	6:15 p
	WOR‡	710	Sat	1:30 p
	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
North Albany	WROW-TV*	41	Thurs	7:30 p
	WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC**	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WATN‡	1240	Thurs	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWR*	1260	Tues	6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC°	570	Sat	6:30 p
Asheville	WLOS-TV*	13		
	WLOS-TV**	13		
Belmont	WCGC*	1270		
	WCGC**	1270		
Burlington	WBBB*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110	Sun	5:30 p
	WIST‡	930	Thurs	9:30 p
Concord	WEGO**	1410	Wed	10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WCNC‡	1240	Thurs	9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780		
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Gastonia	WLTC°	1370	Sun	12:45 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hendersonville	WHKP°	1450	Tues	8:00 p
Hickory	WHKY°	1290	Tues	7:30 p
	WIRC**	630		

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

Your letter of recent date anent one of mine in the "Public Pulse" column of the *Omaha World-Herald* at hand. In reply I wish to tell you I am pleased to note that my personal opinion of what is going on in national legislative circles at Washington was worthy of your notice. . . . I always listen to your Sunday program . . . and appreciate the unbiased way you present both sides of every question . . .

MRS. LIDA TRINE
Red Cloud, Neb.

I have really enjoyed reading both sides of the news. I have been looking for something like your magazine for some time, and I am certainly happy that I found it.

H. LARRY INGLE
P. O. Box 1007, Wake Forest, N. C.

In closing, I wish to commend Facts Forum for this wonderful enlightening service it is performing for the American people. As the Apostle John said, "the truth shall make you free."

CHARLES DICKENS
417 S. Cypress, Roswell, N. M.

. . . It's the greatest American magazine the American people can buy for the money.

MRS. LAURA A. MILNE
Marblehead, Ohio

This Facts Forum program certainly keeps the public informed of national affairs. I have learned things I didn't know from this program and am amazed at them.

MRS. H. V. SKARIE
P. O. Box 415, Whitehall, Montana

I would like to subscribe to the *Facts Forum News*. I appreciate the traditional American spirit in which you are conducting your coverage of our serious problems in the United States. As you know, it is hard to find any newspaper or magazine truly dedicated to the fight against communism. Slanted news coverage can always be had.

WILLIAM MARTIN SMITH
Salt Point Road, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

All the films I requested have been shown to a good percentage of the student body here at Slippery Rock. The films were all very well received and many remarks were exchanged. Discussion groups were formed after the movies were shown to discuss the pros and cons of the various issues presented. . . . I would appreciate it very much if you would add my name to your permanent mailing list so that I may continue receiving your publications and film lists.

FRANK J. LAMPING
1834 Overbeck St.
North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Smoot . . . I think your presentation . . . almost disturbing—to think that one voice could present both sides so convincingly. . . . It is heartening to have a TV program presenting both sides of a subject.

MRS. CHARLES G. BANGERT
Enderlin, N. D.

NORTH CAROLINA—Continued

High Point	WNOS**	1590	Sun	8:00 p
	WNOS*	1590	Sun	
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
	WKMT**	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLOE‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WJRI‡	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUY**	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV*	28	Tues	10:00 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490		
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed	8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Sanford	WWGP°	1050		
	WWGP**	1050		
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Wed	9:30 p
Wilmington	WGNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Sun	8:00 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV*	26	Sun	9:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230		
Fargo	WDAY-TV*	6	Sun	4:00 p
		alternating Sun		4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC°	1400	Sun	4:30 p
Minot	KLPM‡	1300	Thurs	8:30 p
Valley City	KOVC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Wed	8:00 p
Canton	WCMW°	1060	Sun	12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700	Sun	12:30 p
	WLW**	700	Sun	2:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WHK‡	1420	Thurs	9:30 p
Dayton	WHIO*	1290	Tues	7:15 p
Delaware	WSLN**			
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
	WEOL**	930	Wed	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH**	990		
Lima	WLOK-TV°	73	Tues	8:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WMOA‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT°	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Steubenville	WSTV-TV°	9	Sun	6:30 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren-Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
	WHHH‡	1440	Thurs	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	50	Wed	7:00 p
		alternat'g Thurs		9:30 p
	WHIZ-TV°	50	Mon	7:00 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	1460	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Wed	10:30 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
	KRHD‡	1350	Thurs	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC°	1390	Sun	10:15 p
Lawton	KSWO-TV°	7	Thurs	7:30 p
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
	KOCY‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
	KMPT*	19	Wed	9:00 p
	KTVQ-TV**	25	Sun	9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KHBG‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WBBZ‡	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO**	1280		
	KLCO°	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KGFF‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430	Tues	9:45 p
	KVOO°	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIW‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p

OREGON

Astoria	KAST‡	1370	Sun	8:30 p
Bend	KBND‡	1110	Sun	8:30 p
Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Lebanon	KGAL°	920	Sun	7:30 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p
Portland	KXL*	750	Sat	4:15 p
Roseburg	KRXL‡	1240	Sun	8:30 p
Salem	KGAE*	1430		

* * * * *

Vote the June poll questions. Page 65

* * * * *

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WESB‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	12:45 p
Butler	WBUT-FM*	97.7	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT**	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDL*	1230	Thurs	6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	5:30 p
	WFRM**	600	Sun	1:30 p

(Continued on Page 44)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

Opinion Forum

The following are taken from the "Remarks" on or accompanying Facts Forum Poll Cards

The very future of America depends on passage of the Bricker Amendment.
W. L. SHIVELY
P. O. Box 111, Nappanee, Ind.

Farming cannot be learned by a short "visit" to Iowa; would require several months of extensive study. They can adapt all they need to know from books.
JAMES C. STOCK
Box 254, Lone Tree, Iowa

If we give the average Russian citizen an opportunity to learn of a democracy in action, he can see how insignificant his own method of government is.
KENNETH CURTIS
Station ACC, Abilene, Tex.

England is for England first and last. We are wrong in allowing the United Nations to direct our so-called "foreign policy."
R. J. LYNCH
The Green, Cazenovia, N. Y.

The U.S. should announce that any further expansion by Communist governments into free territory will bring retaliation. This was Eisenhower's statement before election.
C. C. BALLWEG
2292 Wynnedale Rd.
Indianapolis 8, Ind.

We should not start World War III to recover our captive soldiers, especially if they are being treated comparatively well.
WILLARD HARTLEY
2345 R., Lincoln, Nebr.

What Chiang and Rhee do is none of our cotton-picking business. It ceased being our business when we pulled troops out of North China in '46 on recommendation of European commanders.
DON W. STEARMAN
3511 Valley Ridge Rd., Dallas, Tex.

I trust Ike's military judgment, his morality, but he has too many "one-worlders," bleeding hearts, and do-gooders around him. We must have the Bricker Amendment enacted into law.
HERBERT ELLISON SMITH
14006 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks, Calif.

The people are too apathetic of the things done to them in the last thirty years.
H. O. KLEIN
223 S. 17, LaCrosse, Wis.

I don't feel we should start a war but should keep up military might to discourage attack on us.
M. J. MEUNIER, JR.
1000 Tchoupitoulas St., New Orleans, La.

No. 1 Problem—Public's lack of interest in spending of federal money. Greatest pleasure on earth—giving away someone else's money.
E. C. JOHNSON
713 Central, Estherville, Iowa

Russian farmers in Iowa would be a mere spy gesture. We must not rest till all captive soldiers are safely home—back Chiang and Rhee to the limit, and now is the time to start.
A. R. STUART
P. O. Box 1230, Brownsboro, Tex.

If we are attacked from without, we are ready. What about within?
ESTHER WILLIAMS
Sherill Hotel, No. 410, Salt Lake City, Utah

More and more we should insist that all matters of public interest should be voted upon by the American people.
WILL F. EVANS
Box 335, Mesilla Park, N. M.

No. 2—It is impossible to think of Eisenhower and MacArthur being together at Yalta. Eisenhower was part of the Roosevelt-Truman regime: had he been at Yalta, there would have been no difference. Had MacArthur been there, Yalta would have been different.
ROMAINE L. POINDEXTER
991 Roxbury Rd., San Marino 9, Calif.

My answer to No. 3 is that I don't know, but it looks that way. Our propaganda is usually worse than useless—harmful instead of helpful. AND WE PUNISH, NOT TREASON, BUT THOSE WHO EXPOSE TREASON. It is impossible for me to understand the reason why, in this supposedly anti-Communist country, we crucify all our fighters against Communists.
MRS. ROWENA MILLER
Apt. 317, 2357 St. James Ave.
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

I believe the Army should be cleaned of deadwood and become streamlined and efficient.
THOMAS MICHEL
131 S. Wall St., Kankakee, Ill.

A nation without heroes is a nation without a history, and a nation without a history will die.
ALVIN M. OWSLEY
Dallas, Tex.

Talk peace, dream peace, live in peace to have a peaceful world.
OSCAR V. MAMIGONIAN
812 N. Broadway, Wichita, Kans.

To insist upon being attacked first is morally and ethically right, but I don't know whether it is wise!
PAULIST CIRCULATING LIBRARY
614 Grant Ave., San Francisco, Calif.

Anti-Communists will not remain impotent forever in their fight to save America—only as long as traitors exist in government.
A. L. WILHOITE
7 W. 17th St., Tulsa, Okla.

MAY POLL RESULTS

(See Page 65 for June Poll Questions)

% YES	
39	**Is U.S. wise to insist upon being attacked first?**
83	**Would Yalta have been different if MacArthur and Eisenhower had been there?**
72	**Will "anti-Communists" remain impotent victims of vicious smears?**
9	**All peaceful means failing, shall we abandon our captive soldiers?**
62	**Is hero worship dangerous to our country?**
45	**Has the President power under "treaty law" to suspend the Constitution?**
75	**Is the Senate too lenient in confirming Supreme Court appointees?**
12	**Do people grasp the shameful import of *Billions, Blunders and Baloney?***
29	**Do policies of the Administration represent the will of the majority?**
27	**Will Americans ever be permitted to vote on the Bricker Amendment?**
41	**Should Russian farmers be permitted to come to 'Iowa' to study farming?**
70	**Should Chiang Kai-shek and Rhee be allowed to take the initiative now?**
18	**Is England a reliable ally of the U.S. in Asia?**
30	**Should the government reduce the number in the Army?**

No. 4—Yes and no; we must not sacrifice many lives for a few. Such is the fate of a soldier. One is tempted to believe they would destroy the captives before we could rescue them.
KATHERYNE HENSON
2185 S.W. Yamhill, No. 204, Portland, Ore.

Billions, Blunders and Baloney should be on the bedside table of the President of the United States.
BESS W. FAIRBANKS
Stone St. 73-B, Gardner, Mass.

Billions, Baloney, and Blunder—crackpot slogan. Very doubtful if majority of people know much about the meaning.
RAYMOND A. YOUNG
RFD 1, Rockford, Ohio

I still think Ike is o.k. I sure hope so.
R. W. WITHERSPOON
419 Olive St., Shreveport, La.

Blind hero worship is the cause largely of our present trouble.
WALLACE C. PORTER
P. O. Box 51, Marksville, La.

Abandoning our captive soldiers like we have is the most disgraceful thing that any nation can do.
JAMES L. COLLAMORE
803 E. 12th, Little Rock, Ark.

I believe the time—already long overdue—has come to stop belly-crawling and shadow-boxing with all Communists.
FORD KINSMAN
Cornish Flat, N. H.

In Behalf of Oppenheimer

(Continued from Page 19)

I have often had occasion to say that there is only one real question that interests . . . the Soviet leaders, and that is the question of who has the ability to haul people out of bed at three in the morning and cause them to disappear without giving any accounting for them, and where. . . . They want to know not only how to destroy territory but how to get control of it and dominate it and run people.

Q. Of course, you will agree that if you were mistaken in that evaluation, it would be a very serious mistake.

A. I agree and for that reason I have, I believe, always had a certain caution with regard to my own views.

• • •

Q. Putting it in the language of the ordinary man, you just can't trust them, isn't that right?

A. That is correct. They do not really expect to be trusted.

Q. [by Chairman Gordon Gray] If you were today director of the Policy Planning Staff and . . . a certain individual had close Communist associations as late as the late thirties or perhaps early forties, would you seriously consider adding such a person to your staff today?

A. I must say if it were a person of outstanding capabilities and especially a person who had in addition to the negative factors rendered distinguished service to the government, then I would want to look at it very hard.

Q. I assume that if it were a secretary, for example, or clerical assistant, that it would be easier for you to decide that the person should not be employed.

A. I would think that would be correct. . . .

I do feel this, that the really gifted and able people in government are perhaps less apt than the others to have had a fully conventional life and a fully conventional entry, let us say, into their governmental responsibilities.

• • •

REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. MARKS

Q. You said that in relation to gifted individuals, it was common to find that they had unconventional backgrounds and that therefore . . . a different type of inquiry was required for evaluation. Could you explain a little bit more fully what you had in mind?

A. It is simply that I sometimes think that the higher types of knowledge and wisdom do not often come without very considerable anguish and often a very considerable road of error. . . .

At any rate, it seems to me that the exception[al] people are often apt not to fit into any categories of requirements that it is easy to write into an act or a series of loyalty regulations. . . .

. . . I have always felt that the United States government has to realize that it has a real problem here, particularly with the people who have the greater capacities. There is need here for considerable flexibility, and as I say at the outset, I think for a looking at the man as a whole and viewing his entire personality and not judging portions of it. . . .

Q. Many people would say, Mr. Kennan, that you are a gifted individual. I know of nothing to suggest that you came to the government and remained in it for so many long years of great service as the result of any unconventional background. How do you reconcile those things?

A. I consider myself to be a fortunate man. At the age of 23, at a time when many American young people of good education were drifting into what I think was an unsound approach to life, I was sent out to the Baltic States. I saw the square where the Bolshevik commissars had only recently been shooting their hostages. I saw the building on Elizabeth Street in the cellar of which they had done their torturing. I was affected from the beginning by a sense of the grotesque injustice of taking a whole class as they did, the bourgeoisie of these countries, and punishing them just because they were classifiable as bourgeoisie.

I must say I was so affected by what I saw of the cruelty of Soviet power that I never could receive any of its boasts about social improvement with anything other than skepticism. I think that experience helped me a great deal at an early date and helped me to avoid mistakes that I might otherwise have made.

Later it fell to me very deeply in Russian literature and German literature, and I have had to go through all that. It has developed in me, as I think in long foreign residence it does—I was abroad eighteen years and a deep acquaintanceship with the thinking of othe people—it has involved me sometimes in conflict when I came home. I find myself tending to be critical sometimes of condition in our country more than other people are, and it is a thing which I have had to fight within myself.

Probably what you can say in reply to your question is that I have been lucky in the first place, and secondly, I have been able to conceal the difficulties on the intellectual road I have gone more than other people have been able to, to keep them within myself and fight them out myself.

• • •

Q. . . . I hope I am not out of order in saying that . . . a lawyer I cannot believe that the Atomic Energy Act intended to deny to the Atomic Energy Commission the services of gifted people.

. . . In your opinion . . . are the character, associations, and loyalty of Dr. Oppenheimer such as to bring you to a determination that permitting him to have access to restricted data will not endanger the common defense and security?

• • •

A. . . . On the basis of what is known to me of Dr. Oppenheimer's qualities, his personality and his activities during the period that I have known him, I would know of no reason why he should not be permitted to have access to restricted data in the government.

• • •

RE-CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ROBB

Q. Was Owen Lattimore one of your associates or friends?

A. No, he was not. I never had any personal acquaintance with him.

• • •

Q. [by Dr. Evans] Mr. Kennan, in answer to one of the questions that was asked you, I think you stated in effect, or at least you implied, that all gifted individuals were more or less screwballs.

A. Let me say that they [are] apt to be, if I may.

Q. Would you say that a large percentage of them are?

A. No, sir, I would not say that they are screwball, but I would say that when gifted individuals come to a maturity of judgment which makes them valuable public servants, you are apt to find that the road by which they have approached . . . has not been as regular as the road by which other people have approached it. It may have had zigzags in it of various sorts.

Q. I think it would be borne out in the literature. I believe it was Addison, and someone correct me if I am wrong, that said, "Great wits are near to madness, close allied and thin partitions do their bounds divide."

Dr. Oppenheimer is smiling. He knows whether I am right or wrong on that. That is all.

• • •

Q. [by Chairman Gordon Gray] One further serious question. . . . You feel that the unusual person or gifted person, who has traveled perhaps a different road than most other people, can at one point reach a stability on the basis of which there can be absolute predictability as to no further excursions?

A. Let me say at a point where there can be sufficient predictability to warrant his being accepted by the government for public service.

(Continued from Page 41)

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued

Easton	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	7:30 p
	WGLV-TV*	57	Thurs	9:00 p
Gettysburg	WGET**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
	WARD-TV*	56	Sun	3:00 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WBPZ‡	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Reading	WEEU-TV**	33	Tues	9:30 p
Scranton	WUSV-FM*	89.9	Thurs	7:15 p
	WUSV-FM**	89.9	Tues	7:30 p
	WARM-TV*	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
	WISL‡	1480	Thurs	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*		To be announced	
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC**	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW**	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Fri	8:30 p
	WNOW-TV*	49	Sun	7:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV*	8	Sat	8:00 p

PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
San Juan	WHOA**	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Aiken	WAKN*	090	Sat	1:00 p
Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Cheraw	WCRE**	1420	Sat	12:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 p
	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WLAT‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
	WGVL-TV**	23	Tues	6:30 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
	WGSW‡	1350	Thurs	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY**	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	WFIG‡	1340	Thurs	9:30 p
Union	WBCU*	1460	Fri	7:15 p
Walterboro	WALD*	1490	Thurs	7:15 p
	WALD**	1490	Sun	12:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KORN‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR**			
Chattanooga	WDEF*	1370	Sun	6:15 p
	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WAGC‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Chattanooga	WDEF-TV**			
Cleveland	WBAC*	1340	Sat	7:00 p
	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB**	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WDSG‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Harriman	WDEH*			
	WDEH**			
	WHBT**			
	WHBT*			
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL*	910	Mon	7:30 p
	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
	WJHL-TV*	11	Sun	3:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*			
	WKXV**			
Knoxville	WROL*	620	Mon	10:15 p
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	9:00 p
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*			
	WCOR**			
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WCRK‡	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
	WSIX-TV*	8	Sun	5:00 p
Newport	WLIK*	1270		
	WLIK**	1270		
Oak Ridge	WOKE*	1290	Sun	7:00 p
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
	WTPR‡	710	Thurs	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	WCDT‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

I made good use of . . . copies you people sent me. I had my own . . . so gave one to a member of our legislature who had told me he wished he could find some "good" magazines, and to a neighbor who is leader of a study group currently getting acquainted with the U.S. Constitution.

MRS. G. N. EKLUND
Farmington, Utah

I recently talked with (the) president . . . of Ranger College and he talked so enthusiastically about the Facts Forum film rental library and about how successful their handling of this service had been, that I would like to have information about Wayland College's having a similar arrangement. . . . I have been extremely interested in Mr. Smoot's Facts Forum lectures which I have heard in recent weeks.

A. HOPE OWEN, President
Wayland Baptist College
Plainview, Texas

Best wishes and sincere prayers for a continuation of your patriotic work . . . for many years to come.

MISS RUTH C. DOUGLAS
R.F.D. 1, South Shaftsbury, Vt.

I am wondering if a copy of the Facts Forum News Release is mailed to each Senator and Representative each time it is made up. It seems this would give Congress the trend of people's thinking on the various questions.

B. D. ADDINGTON, Division Manager
L. M. Berry & Co.
301 Caldwell Bldg., Bristol, Tenn.

I really appreciate and thank you for your swell magazine. Hope it finds itself in everyone's hands.

PAUL J. KLEIN
6-B, V.A. Hospital, Madison, Wis.

. . . I would like to add that your program is very popular with the personnel of our squadron. During your broadcasts there is always "standing room only" in our lounge.

A/1C W. C. BLACKWELL
Headquarters Squadron
814th Air Base Group
Fairchild Air Force Base
Spokane, Wash.

Please accept my very sincere thanks for the subscription to your splendid publication. I have received three copies, and my husband and I believe each copy to be better than its predecessor.

MRS. B. L. PARKINSON
Box 1036, College Station
Fredericksburg, Va.

I would like to congratulate you on the splendid way you present both sides of controversial current affairs. I believe teachers should take the same position and present both sides of these problems.

MRS. LOUIS STAHL, JR.
199 Edgewood St., Wheeling, W. Va.

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Sun	8:00 p
	KBMT-TV*	31		
	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KTXC‡	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN**	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KHUZ‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV*	22	Sun	4:00 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY**	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV*	4	Wed	10:30 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR‡	1310	Thurs	10:30 p
Denton	KDNT*	1440	Tues	7:45 p
Eastland	KERC**	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO**	690		
Freeport	KBRZ**	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KNAF‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Gainsville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kerrville	KERV*	1230	Fri	8:15 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1380	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW**	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI**	1280	Sun	8:00 p
	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV*	13	Sun	12:00 n
Lufkin	KTRE*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Thurs	5:45 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 p
	KMID-TV*	2	Sat	6:30 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
New Braunfels	KGNB*	1420	Sun	9:00 a
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV*	8	Sun	4:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-TV*	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 p
	KRRV‡	910	Thurs	8:30 p
Snyder	KSNY*	1450	Sun	6:00 p
	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KXOX‡	1240	Thurs	8:30 p
Taylor	KTAE*	1260	Sun	1:00 p
Texarkana	KTSF*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KVIC‡	1340	Thurs	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sun	2:00 p
	KANG-TV*	34	Sun	3:00 p
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 a
	KRGV-TV*	5	Sun	10:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV*	6	Tues	9:30 p

UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KALL‡	910	Thurs	7:30 p
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	3:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM‡	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WBLT‡	1490	Thurs	9:30 p
Charlottesville	WCHV*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
	WCHV**	1240	Thurs	9:00 p
Fredericksburg	WFVA*	1230	Sat	7:15 p
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WBOB‡	1400	Thurs	9:30 p
Lexington	WREL*	1450	Sat	7:15 p
	WREL**	1450	Sun	6:30 p
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sun	5:00 p

(Continued from Page 58)

*Facts Forum (Dan Smoot); **Answers For Americans; †Reporters' Roundup; ‡State Of The Nation.

Max Eastman

(Continued from Page 15)

Yes. I think—the basic thing I want to say in my book is this: The main enemy of our free, humane, friendly democratic way of life is the development of statism. We're getting a habit in this country when we think something is good, we ought to do something—we mean by that the government ought to do it. And very few people are reflecting that if the government does everything that is good, liberty will disappear out of the world whether it does anything bad or not.

That's not the doctrine . . .

I'm not quite answering your question there but just saying what I wanted to say at the moment.

In your book you specifically mentioned that a state apparatus demanded planning and that means if you planned you had to plan for a long term and that was against free elections, because you had to keep the people in power who would constantly do the planning!

That's true, and you're being very clear about it.

I'd like to find out—to get into the the background—start from the beginning and find out how you became a Socialist in the first place. When and where were you born?

I was born in Canandiagua, New York, about twenty miles from the Eastman Kodak Company.

Was there anything about your home life or your environment as a youngster that gave you the intellectual inclinations, for your desire to find out more about governments and peoples?

My father and mother were both ministers. They were very liberal ministers. And I suppose that means the root of my feeling, my desire for equality, was Christian. I was brought up very freely to use my own mind and make my own conclusions about everything. I didn't become a Socialist because I had a resentment against somebody. I was free and I regarded myself as free and my motive was just to extend this liberty to everybody including the working class.

Where did you go to school?

I went to Mercersburg Academy and then to Williams College and then studied at Columbia and taught logic.

What kind of a degree did you get from Columbia?

I took all requirements for a Ph.D., and got a certificate saying I could have it whenever I came up there and I never went up and got it.

You're a Ph.D., but not technically one?

That's right. I wanted to be a writer and I think a writer with a Ph.D. tag on his name is at a disadvantage. And I don't like titles, anyway.

You also taught philosophy as well as logic, didn't you, at Columbia—and you were there for four years?

Yes.

And what prompted you to leave Columbia? What did you do when you did leave Columbia?

Well, I didn't want to be a teacher. I taught in order to find out what I wanted to know in order to write books. And I was in a very inferior teaching position—an assistant in philosophy. I'll tell you an incident which occurred in my classroom which illustrates how much it meant to me. While explaining the syllogism on the blackboard, very elaborately, a bright young fellow in back of my class, who subsequently became Senator O'Mahoney, stuck up his hand and said, "Professor, what is the use of all this?" I answered, "I'm ashamed to say it nets me only five hundred a year."

(Continued on next page)

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(Continued from preceding page)

What was your first book? Did you write books or magazine articles?

My first book was called *Enjoyment of Poetry*.

That had nothing to do with politics in particular?

Not at all, and I did give a course in the graduate school at Columbia in aesthetics in which I applied psychology to the criticism of literature for the first time, I think.

The first time it had ever been applied?

Yes. That is, people in my class got credits in psychology although it was a literary course.

Did your first book on poetry enjoy good success?

Well, it's still selling at the rate of about one every two days. It has been reprinted twenty-four times.

What is the most popular book you have written?

Over the years that's the most popular book. But the only bestseller I ever wrote was called *Enjoyment of Laughter*. It's a book on the psychology of humor which has the humor in it. At least, that's what it aimed . . .

What was the most popular book you wrote on the political scene or political science, you might say?

None of them were very popular. The most important one is called *Marxism: Is it a Science?*

They were extremely influential books, though, were they not?

Perhaps—if it's true that influence really seeps down from the intellectual.

Would you say that influence does seep down in considerable quantity from the intellectual to the public as a whole?

I think, decidedly.

How do you think the mechanism of this seeping works?

The masses of the people accept their opinions from journals. The editors of popular journals read more highbrow magazines and the editors of more highbrow magazines read still more highbrow magazines. I think it's true, as (John) Maynard Keynes says, that any popular movement that's being put across now you'll find it outlined in some dull book in economics published about seventy years ago. And the best example of it is Karl Marx. It's a life work to read Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, but that's the book which has caused all this trouble.

Yes. Actually relatively few people have read it.

Very few.

I'd like to know when, Mr. Eastman, what year you became actively socialistic and became an active Socialist propagandist?

In 1912 I became editor of the old *Masses* which was a Socialist magazine, and I think it was that same year I joined the Socialist party.

How long were you editor of the *New Masses*?

Don't say *New Masses*. I said "*old*" on purpose because it had no relation to the *New Masses*. An entirely different group of people founded the *New Masses*. But I was editor of the old *Masses* from 1912 to 1917 when it was suppressed by the government for opposing the war. Then I started another magazine called *The Liberator*, which I edited until 1922.

It was at that time, I imagine, that you made your trip to Russia?

I left *The Liberator* and I gave up journalism entirely in 1922 and went to Russia.

You were actively supporting the Bolshevists when they seized power in Russia in 1917?

Yes.

Hardy Burt (left), and Max Eastman

Tell us something about your experiences there, Mr. Eastman, that is, when your disillusionment started—the first experience of disillusionment?

It started in 1924 just before I left. I came to Russia at the time right after the New Economic Policy when things were at their best. And I was more appalled at the kind of scholastic, theological belief in Marxism as a revealed religion. I was more troubled by that than any other feature there.

I spent most of my time working towards this book, *Marxism: Is it a Science?* So, in that respect, theoretically, I was against it all right from the start—that is, the metaphysics of Marxism. But I was for the social experiment.

I was close enough to the Bolsheviks so that I got an invitation to attend two Congresses of the Russian Communist party. And the last one, just before I left in 1924, was the one in which Stalin and his two lieutenants and all the up and coming Communists, having got past the Congress, put an end to Trotsky's influence in the party. I was sitting there and watched Stalin pull that off. From then on I watched him ascend to the position of an absolute totalitarian dictator. At first, I thought of him as an enemy of the experiment, but I very gradually realized that he was to be regarded as a result of the experiment.

Do you consider communism a religion?

Yes, it's a godless religion.

What would you say is the difference between Christianity as a religion and communism as a religion?

The principle outstanding difference is that Christianity looks to the salvation of man by his being good. Communism looks to the salvation of society by adopting the ethics of war in peacetime—by being bad.

Do you think that there's any chance for a peaceful coexistence with communism?

I don't think there will ever be peace in the world until the Marxists are dethroned in Moscow and elsewhere.

You spoke of danger of socialism itself in our country. What do you think should be done about that danger, Mr. Eastman?

Just what you and I are doing—talking about the subject.

Expose it so that the public as a whole will know about it?

Yes, it's an educative thing. I think what this country most needs now is a magazine, a journal of letters which would discuss all phases of life, but recognize that the main evil and the main danger to our way of life is statism.

Mr. Eastman, is it your analysis that the Socialists in America are inclined to feel sympathy, some sort of subconscious sympathy, even with socialism in Russia? Of course most of them certainly blast Soviet communism in public statements.

Yes, it isn't so much that they feel sympathy with communism because they don't. They're violently against what they call the methods of the Communists. Unfortunately, these are the methods which history chose to bring about a state owned economy. The Socialists are in the weak position of believing in the results but saying, "Oh, no, that isn't the right way to do it," which is certainly not a strong position politically.

I notice that Chapter Seven in your book is entitled, "What To Call Yourself." Now this is a complex problem for many people in America today, because the political terms have become awfully confusing.

Conservatives regard themselves as liberals and say that the liberals have stolen their word conservative—liberal from them. And some liberals like to say they're progressive, and middle-of-the-roaders like to say they are progressive moderates or liberal conservatives. Whatever that would be—I haven't the slightest idea!

What do you think that a person of left-wing persuasions should call himself, and what do you think a person of so-called right-wing persuasions should call himself?

Nobody has stolen any name. It's an evolution in the language. The word *liberal* when it originated and also the word *left* meant extreme advocates of individual freedom as against state control. And gradually the opinions of the intellectuals, who called themselves liberal, have shifted around from an interest in freedom to an interest in social welfare—a sort of approximation to equality rather than freedom. And the word has gone along with them.

They have now arrived to a point where they're so strong for the kind of economic social justice, as they call it, that they are even not disposed to be very harsh about the Soviet Union, and they're not in the least opposed to motions in the direction of state control at home. Therefore, the word *liberal* has really come to mean a person who is for more state control, whereas originally it was a person who wouldn't stand for any state control at all.

What does the word *conservative* mean?

The word conservative fortunately has kind of preserved its meaning. It means, primarily, to conserve the values we have. I call myself a radical conservative.

Isn't the conservative more inclined to be the builder than the liberal in present day terms?

Well, I don't know whether that's so good—they're both trying to build, but the liberals—the left liberals—are building the wrong thing, I think, and the conservatives are building the right thing.

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—Wide World Photo

Moscow construction workers

Where Is the Soviet Sandia?

(Continued from Page 38)

6. The Muscovites have, of course, resolved to try to do something about their own mess. In August 1952 they promulgated Plan V, focusing on goals set for 1955. According to the editors of *Fortune*. ". . . weaknesses notwithstanding, Plan V makes the Soviet Union a growing military menace to the West."[12] This sounds a bit anticlimactic to ears accustomed to the imagined thunder of Soviet atomic tests three years before Plan V was announced. Let us not minimize, however, the Soviet potential. Let us neither minimize it nor maximize it. Let's try to make some reasoned assumptions about it.

The *World Almanac* for 1953 makes the following summary statement about Plan V:

"The plan, aiming at increased output in nearly every field, set a 10 to 12 per cent yearly increase in average production to attain a general rise of about 70 per cent in 1955 over 1950. Fulfillment of the 1955 goals would make the Soviet Union about one-half as productive as the U.S. was in 1951."[13] But this means that total industry in the Soviet Union in 1949, when we first heard of an atomic explosion there, must have been equivalent to something between a fourth and a third of U.S. industry of the same date.

In view of the historic vicissitudes we have just briefly run over, there seems little reason to argue for a higher estimate of Soviet capacity than this—call it 30 per cent of U.S. capacity. This at the time when they allegedly made an A-bomb.

So far, then, this:

A broad-scale measurement of Russian industry against American does not, of course, reveal whether the Soviets are or are not capable of manufacturing an atomic bomb; but it does reveal, decidedly, a situation where various conjectures are legitimate, where only a crackpot can be sure either way, and where only an ax-grinder will pretend to be sure either way. Unless, of course, he has positive intelligence not available to the public. We cannot argue against the I-know-things-I-am-not-at-liberty-to-reveal line.

But this is where we came in on the Harry Truman story. He knew things he was not at liberty to reveal. Down to January 20, 1953, he was supposed to know more than anyone else. It seems improbable that by January 27 he had forgotten everything, or that President Eisenhower (tied up at least part of the time by the inaugural ceremonies and festivities) had learned everything.

No, the argument from authority is a dead duck. We will reason as best we can concerning probabilities.

THE LIVE ISSUE

Now, let's focus a bit more sharply on the essential problem. The question that counts is not, literally, Do the Russians have an A-bomb? but, Do the Russians have an atomic energy project of significant scope and efficiency?

Put otherwise, we will not agitate ourselves as to whether the United States has a pure monopoly, but will inquire as to whether the United States has in fact atomic superiority. Or, again, has the policy of Security by Achievement been a success?

Actually, there is little doubt that, *within its terms of reference* (i.e., *as far as it goes*), it has been a success. Nor is there likely to be much controversy about that, unless Moscow wants to argue it.

The American atomic energy project has immense superiority over any conceivable atomic energy project within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. This I do believe.

To maintain such superiority was the policy of the Truman Administration, and has continued to be the policy of the Eisenhower Adminstration. Both Administrations have received co-operation, at any rate since 1949, from every segment of American society. The scientists and the military have reduced public bickering almost to the vanishing point, and the plain citizens have never wavered in their support of more A-bombs, H-bombs, fissionable material—the works!

That is why we are building Savannah River and Portsmouth. That is why we are searing the sands of Nevada, and readying the runways at Groton for the *Nautilus*. That is why we appropriated in one year double the amount invested in the whole Manhattan Project during World War II.[14]

The extent of this superiority, obviously, cannot be measured with precision. Nor does it need to be, for if it were close it would not effectively exist. It is not close. It cannot be.

In order to see how it cannot be, we must examine more closely the startling disparity between American and Russian industrial capacity. The fact is that the most striking differences between American and Soviet accomplishment appear in certain industries which seem to be especially reliable indicators of the technological verve and persistence requisite to a viable atomic energy project.

These industries include the electronics and electric appliance group, the telephone industry, the automobile industry, the chemical industries, including petroleum, and the metallurgical and metal industries, especially nonferrous.

It is not at all unreasonable to assume a significant positive correlation between a nation's atomic potential and its actual performance in the telephone industry.

David E. Lilienthal has explained in some detail how the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, even though it had inherited the project which had made the

[12] *Fortune*, Feb. 1953, p. 119, Copr. by Time Inc.

[13] *1953 World Almanac*, p. 287.

[14] Appropriations for atomic energy, from the beginning of the project through November 1952, are recapitulated in *The Atomic Energy Act of 1946*, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 50-72.

—Wide World Photo

Ziz cars, four-seaters with radios and push-button windows, parked outside government buildings in Moscow.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, still faced a shocking problem in establishing a proper organization for "the fabrication of the components, and their assembly into a workable weapon."

"First of all," says Mr. Lilienthal in his book *Big Business: A New Era*, "this task required *industrial* experience . . .

"Second, what we wanted done required men of a high order of ability in scientific fundamentals . . .

"Third, this task called for a special kind of operating experience in dealing with the technical characteristics of systems used in these weapons . . .

"Most important of all, these three capabilities of research, industrial techniques and operation had to be *combined* in the same team . . .

"To go out and create such an organization was out of the question. There was not time."

Now does anyone seriously think there has been more time for this kind of creation in Russia?

"It was our 'hunch'," says Mr. Lilienthal, "that there was such an organization in existence—the Bell System . . .

"A careful analysis confirmed this initial 'hunch.' . . .

"The Bell System took over the Sandia operation (as this part of atomic weapons production is called) . . . It has been responsible for it ever since. The stepped-up production of atomic bombs and the favorable results in the tests of new weapons . . . are, I am sure, in considerable measure due to the unique contribution of the Bell System . . ."[15]

Now if the industrial giant of the West (that's us, the U.S.) found it in the logic of advantage to petition the services of the Bell (telephone) System, it seems altogether appropriate to inquire whether the infallible guardians of the Workers' Paradise had any comparable organization to which they might turn.

Actually, there are fewer telephones in all of European and Asiatic Russia than there are in Chicago.[16]

As you look at the thing it gets almost ridiculous.

Take the automobile industry. Its record in converting readily from peace to war status and from war to peace status means that its volume of production is at once a symptom of and a factor in industrial and economic strength. By cautious estimate the Soviet Union has one motor vehicle to our fifteen.[17]

A more sensitive barometer is doubtless the electronics and electrical appliance industry. Again from the *World Almanac:* Early in 1952 the United States had 109 TV stations. (Licensing of such stations was "frozen" at the time; shortly thereafter it was unfrozen, and there were 700 applications on file with the Federal Communications Commission by July 1, 1952.) The U.S.S.R. "opened its third television station in Kiev January 15 [1952]. It operates only on Saturday and Sunday." The United States had 21,000,000 TV sets, the Soviet Union 21,500.[18]

The editors of *Fortune* say of Soviet technology in general: The Soviet Union has developed and produced some equipment as advanced as the best in the U.S. . . . Yet the general technological level remains low. Cold-drawing of nuts and bolts, extrusion in nonferrous metallurgy, and self-recording control devices are still in the pilot stage."[19] Now that is really pretty bad if you are thinking about atomic energy in a big way. And it does not help much if the following report is true: "Inadequate control of heavy-media separation techniques is holding up the beneficiation of marginal ores at Krivoy Rog."[20]

I don't know what ores the editors of *Fortune* here have in mind, but in the judgment of the editors of *Business Week* (as of July 28, 1951) all the uranium ores available to the Russians were marginal.[21]

Mr. Ellsworth Raymond and Mr. John F. Hogerton did a special study for *Look* in 1948 to estimate Russian prospects for making an atom bomb.[22] Mr. Hogerton, who had been chief of the Technical Reports Division of Kellex, the engineering firm that designed K-25, made an estimate of what kind of

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[15] David E. Lilienthal, *Big Business: A New Era* (Harper, 1952), pp. 100-103.

[16] The *1953 World Almanac*, p. 476, gives the U.S.S.R., "including all Asiatic territory," 1,500,000 telephones; Chicago 1,526,156. U.S. telephones total 43,003,832. In support of Mr. Lilienthal's view that a flourishing telephone industry can make a unique contribution to the production of atomic weapons in quantity, is the following statement of Dr. Mervin J. Kelly, Executive Vice President, Bell Laboratories, Inc., made before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, July 7, 1949, shortly after completing a survey of AEC's Los Alamos and Sandia operations: "This is indeed a complex operation; probably as complex as any single operation in applied science. . . . It is an area in which I have spent my whole professional life." (*Investigation Hearing*, p. 809.)

[17] Current Soviet production may be as high as one-tenth the U.S. rate. See *Fortune*, Feb. 1953, p. 119. But the *1953 World Almanac*, p. 287, estimates the Soviet production goal for 1955 as only 7.2 per cent of U.S. production in 1951. Any reasonable allowance for U.S. accumulation due to past productivity, freedom from invasion, and superior maintenance readily yields the 15-to-1 ratio favoring the United States.

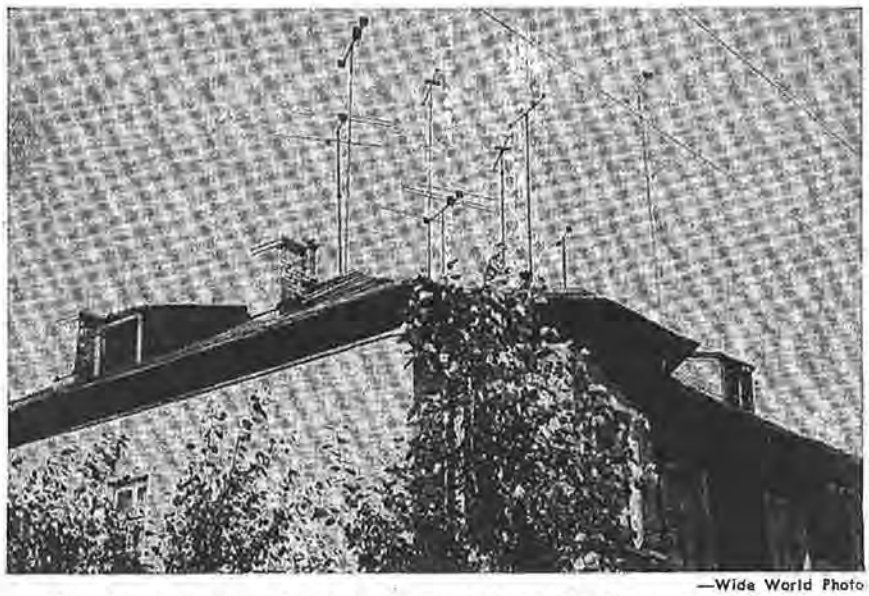
[18] *1953 World Almanac*, pp. 317-18.

[19] *Fortune*, Feb. 1953, p. 211.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *The Atom, 1951, A Business Week Report* (McGraw-Hill, 1951), p. 5.

[22] *Look*, March 16, 1948, pp. 27-34.



—Wide World Photo

Television aerials shown in village of Zagorsk, forty-eight miles north of Moscow.

industrial capacity is required to produce fissionable materials—the recognized crux of the problem; and Mr. Raymond, who had been Adviser on Russian economics to the War Department, took Mr. Hogerton's broad specifications and estimated how soon the Russians might be able to meet them.

"Russian industry," wrote Mr. Raymond, "having neglected the manufacture of precision goods, now finds itself prepared for the wrong type of war.

"In time, of course, Russia can improve the quantity and quality of the output of its precision-machinery factories. But it will take a long time. And no U.S. or England in its right mind will export atomic-plant equipment to the U.S.S.R." [This is the soft spot in Mr. Raymond's reasoning, as, right mind or wrong, we did, in 1947, reportedly make such exports;[23] but Mr. Raymond's argument still has force, both because the quantities of such exports were probably not great enough to furnish a real competitor, and also because as General Marshall testified, the Russians as a rule do not know quite what to do with advanced equipment when they get it.]

"The Russians," continues Mr. Raymond, "simply cannot hope to have a K-25 plant like the one at Oak Ridge within a few years. This would be physically impossible. The Soviet industries which would have to supply the equipment for such a mechanical monster are too undeveloped."

At this point it should be noted that this physically-impossible-for-the-Soviets K-25 was the only kind of fissionable-material factory that the celebrated Dr. Klaus Fuchs knew very much about. He could not have given the Russians much detailed help on a plutonium plant. And he could not give them the equipment for any kind of plant. At the time of his confession in 1950 he "explained," according to Alan Moorehead, "that it was impossible for him, of course, to do more than tell the Russians the principle on which the bomb was made. It was up to the Russians to produce their own industrial equipment, and he *had been astonished* [italics added] when they had succeeded in making and detonating a bomb as soon as the previous August. He knew, Fuchs said, that scientifically they were sufficently advanced; but he had not supposed that commercially and industrially they were so far developed."[24]

Mr. Raymond's survey of Russian industrial capacity precluded the possibility of a Soviet K-25, and put a possible Soviet Hanford some years into the future.

"Even if Russian science should be equal to the task, there is still no assurance that a Hanford could be quickly built," said Mr. Raymond. "Soviet scientists successfully worked out the theory of radar some years before its discovery in England. But the Russians were not able to put theory into practice, and did not manufacture radar equipment until long after both England and America had done so."

One thing should be made perfectly clear: Mr. Raymond wrote before anything was known about Klaus Fuchs, and he wrote before President Truman announced that an atomic explosion had taken place in Russia. When his analytical report of Soviet incapacity is read now, the more reasonable inference is not that Mr. Raymond was an unreliable forecaster, but rather that the dramatic and sensational characteristics of the Fuchs case and the Truman announcement blinded most of us to Mr. Raymond's relatively unexciting account. But prosaic as it may be, it is probable. The Russians can hardly be serious competitors with the United States, or with the United Kingdom, in the construction and operation of a complete atomic energy project. Sporadic explosions, perhaps contrived with quantities of fissionable material stolen from the United States, do not alter the general validity of Mr. Raymond's comparison.

His observation of what is apparently a characteristic gap between Soviet science, which everyone knows is occasionally brilliant, and Soviet "industrial construction," which, he says, "is still in the pick-and-shovel age," is especially pertinent, and is supported by other expert testimony.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, perhaps the most famous of atomic scientists, told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in June 1949: "...my understanding of the situation in Russia is that even when the basic facts are known, they have, and I think we have cause to be grateful, some difficulty in making practical application of them."[25]

Dr. Irving Langmuir, eminent research director, who visited Russia in June 1945, reported, "The thing that impressed me most was the extent to which they were working on pure science. The Institutes [Institute of Inorganic Chemistry and the Physical Institute] had no connection with industry."[26]

Even the scientists had not progressed very far if what Dr. Langmuir told the McMahon Committee in December 1945 was correct. "When you go to Russia," he said, "and you find that Kapitza, Fersman, Frenkel, and Joffe—all of those men who are working on problems that have nothing to do with atomic energy—when Joffe tells me and shows me the cyclotron started in 1938, work on which was discontinued during the war and is now just starting again, and tells me the cyclotron will be finished in December of this year—and he is the most prominent physicist that has had anything to do with nuclear physics—when you see that, *you are convinced they are not carrying through a Manhattan project.*"[27] [Italics added.] Dr. Langmuir's conviction was presumably based on the evident *rate* of progress on the cyclotron.

Mr. Raymond's instance of radar to illustrate the greater lag normally expected in Russia than in England between theory and production may provoke us to re-examine what we have been asked to believe regarding *atomic*

—Wide World Photo

Modes of transportation in Russia—a Soviet locomotive on the New Turkestan-Siberian RR line versus a camel carrying two women and child to market at Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakstan Soviet Republic.

theory and production in the two countries.

The official version has not attempted to deny the pre-eminence of British nuclear science. Kapitza got his start under Rutherford at Cambridge, which was probably the leading prewar center of nuclear research. All the Manhattan Project scientists known to have given war-time secrets to the Russians were British. But the galaxy of British scientists as a whole was far greater than Fuchs, May, and Pontecorvo. Hence, even with the maximum allowance for the value of the knowledge transmitted by these three, the British resources of knowledge remain far greater than the known Russian resources.

Indeed, the British tradition in the physical sciences and their ingenious practical application is unrivaled. From Newton to Lord Cherwell, from the steam engine to radar, from the spinning jenny to the jet airliner, the island home of the industrial revolution has produced or attracted a fabulous gallery of scientific and technical genius, including—in the nuclear field—Thomson, Rutherford, Chadwick, Cockroft, Wilson, Penney, and on and on.

Yet in spite of this acknowledged superiority of British nuclear science, in the face of obvious British superiority in access to the raw materials of the Belgian Congo, and ignoring the general superiority of British auxiliary technology, we have been asked to believe that the Russians beat the British by three years in the race to manufacture an atomic bomb independently of the United States, and that they now have an Atomgrad to rival Hanford.

That they have exploded one or two bombs of some kind we can credit if we remember that their entire project was put under the supervision of Lavrenti Beria, chief of their secret police, who might have arranged to smuggle out of the United States enough "nuclear components" for a demonstration or so for the Soviet high command. But that they have an atomic energy project which is serious, complete, and of a magnitude remotely competitive with that of the United States, we cannot lightly accept.

OBJECTION AND REJOINDER

There is one objection to concluding quickly that the Soviets cannot have an atomic energy project which amounts to very much. The known occurrence of atomic explosions in Soviet territory is not such an objection, for, as we shall see in the following pages, they have in the past had a very real opportunity to steal fissionable materials from the United States. And as AEC Chairman Gordon Dean has said, "With fissionable material in hand, it is not a difficult technical job to make workable atomic weapons."[28]

But lax as our security system has undoubtedly been, we cannot suppose that the number of atomic bombs which might have been assembled *in Russia* from items of fissionable material manufactured in the United States can possibly constitute a stockpile seriously competitive with our own. To credit the existence of such a stockpile it is not sufficient to have at hand evidence from the analysis of fission products in air currents and evidence from cryptic intelligence reports that somewhere in the Eurasian heartland two or three nuclear explosions have undoubtedly taken place.

General Groves summarized this point rather succinctly at the time of the commotion over Truman's heresy. "All we know," said Groves, "is there were indications of nuclear explosions."[29]

Dr. Arthur Compton made essentially the same point: "Scientists know," he said, "that there have been two atomic explosions in Russia, but we don't know, of course, whether these explosions are the result of a workable A-bomb."[30] And of course, if we don't know whether these individual explosive devices, whatever they were, were "workable" A-bombs, then we certainly don't know from this evidence alone that the Soviets have a practical atomic arsenal within their own boundaries.

No, the objection to a low estimate of Russian atomic production is almost independent of our knowledge concerning actual explosions, valuable as that knowledge is. The objection lies rather in the well known fact that the Soviet oligarchy may use its executive authority to require an extraordinary concentration of Russian and satellite resources on the struggling Soviet atomic energy project.

James Burnham made this point some six or seven years ago. Having observed that "Soviet industry is for the most part incompetent, inefficient, and qualitatively at a low level,"[31] and having pointed out the Communist dependence on and addiction to *loot*[32] (confirmed, as we have noted, by General Marshall), Mr. Burnham proceeded, nevertheless, to warn us how "important, for strategic purposes, is the economic concentration which absolute political control makes possible. This is of great significance in connection with the production of atomic weapons. Deficient as they are in almost all branches of economy, the Communists can concentrate the most and best of what they have both of human and physical equipment on a task which they decide to be dominant. It would, therefore, be a mistake to judge their atomic performance by their general industrial level."[33]

This objection is not to be brushed aside.

Dr. Compton, according to the Associated Press, said, "The difference between the United States and Russia insofar as manufacture of A-bombs is concerned is that the United States is using only one per cent of its industrial capacity in the manufacture while Russia would have to use at least four per cent."[34]

This at once accords with our previous general estimate of the relative magnitude of Russian industry, and at the same time suggests a quantitative paraphrase of Mr. Burnham's point regarding concentration. Granted that the United States ought to be able to stay ahead in an all-out race on both sides (provided the fight was "fair"), what if the Russians chose to devote, say, 16 per cent of their capacity to atomic

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[23] The following is from the *New York Times* of June 8, 1949 (p. 1): "Washington, June 7.—A Federal Bureau of Investigation Report disclosed today that Russia received a shipment of atomic research devices from the United States in 1947 and that two other shipments were blocked in 1948 and 1949.... The FBI report was brought into the open at the espionage trial of Judith Coplon.... Robert J. Lamphere, an FBI agent, testified he had prepared the document about the shipment of atomic implements to Russia. Mr. Lamphere said the report was 'authentic'—and thus not to be confused with a 'decoy' paper... deliberately planted where Miss Coplon would find it.... Mr. Lamphere's report said no export license had been issued for the shipment of atomic equipment that reached Soviet Russia aboard the steamship Mikhail Kutuzov in August 1947. It said a shipment of similar secret instruments was found aboard the steamship Murmansk in New York harbor Sept. 2, 1948, but American authorities removed the shipment because it had not been authorized. Then a third shipment was found on a dock in Claremont, N. J., Jan. 14, 1949, and this also was confiscated, the report said. Amtorg bought the equipment that reached Russia from the 'Cyclotron Specialties Company,' the report continued...."

[24] Moorehead, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[25] *Investigation Hearing*, p. 292. Dr. Oppenheimer had previously stated, however (p. 284): "I do not know anything about Russia."

[26] *Science Bulletin, American-Soviet Science Society*, October 1945, p. 4.

[27] *Hearings Before the Special Committee on Atomic Energy, 79th Congress, 1st Session, Pursuant to Senate Resolution 179* (hereinafter cited as *Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 179*) (Government Printing Office, 1945-46), p. 118.

[28] Washington *Post*, Jan. 31, 1953, p. 1.

[29] Washington *Daily News* (United Press), Jan. 29, 1953, p. 35.

[30] Houston *Post* (Associated Press), Jan. 31, 1953, p. 8.

[31] James Burnham, *The Struggle for the World* (John Day, 1947), p. 93.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[34] Houston *Post*, Jan. 29, 1953, p. 12.

The Liberal Mind

(Continued from Page 6)

sions and distortions and oversimplifications.

Aware of these limitations then, I nevertheless venture upon a short analysis of the Liberal mind. And I shall argue that it is indispensable to a knowledge of that mind to recognize that *there is an enormous area in which the Liberal does not know how to think.* More specifically: he is illogical, he is inconsistent, and he cannot assess evidence.

Several years ago, I wrote a critique of modern education—specifically, of Yale education—for which I now feel I must, in part, apologize. I apologize not so much for the irrelevance of the indictment as for its incompleteness. Almost all of my critics intoned that Yale—that Liberal education—attempts to teach students not *what* to think, but *how* to think. And I used to answer them with some such observation as that my ignorant but decent delivery man is a far better citizen of the world, to use a term that engages the rapt and respectful attention of all Liberals, than the chairman of the department of philosophy of Moscow University who—make no mistake about it—is not ignorant. I still maintain that this is a sufficient answer, but I shall never forgive myself for being so easily duped as to accept uncritically the premise that the Liberals are, indeed, successfully teaching American students how to think. I should have come back at my critics—it would have been easy—by demonstrating that not only does modern education tend to teach you to think what you ought *not* to think, it also fails to teach you *how* to think.

There isn't space for many examples of the Liberal mind at work on a logical problem, so let me attempt just one or two.

Some months ago, I suggested on a television program that symbolic of the sluggishness of the collective Liberal anti-Communist effort is the fact that should Eleanor Roosevelt meet Senator McCarthy at a cocktail party she would probably refuse to shake hands with him, whereas she would almost as surely shake Vishinsky's hand at the same party. A day or two later a reporter asked her, How about it? Indignantly she answered that she would shake hands with both Vishinsky *and* McCarthy at any future social affair, that in the past she had once shaken McCarthy's hand (this was evidently a vivid memory), and that was that.

Not quite, however; for a month or two later she was asked in her regular question-and-answer column in *Ladies Home Journal,* "In a recent column you defended your right to shake hands with Mr. Vishinsky, and Senator McCarthy. Would you also have felt it was right to shake hands with Adolf Hitler?"

Replied Mrs. Roosevelt (not, I think, after anything but the intensest intellectual effort to solve that one), "In Adolf Hitler's early days I might have considered it, but after he had begun his mass killings I don't think I could have borne it."

I suggest that any effort to understand Mrs. Roosevelt's code on when it is permissible to shake someone's hand is very difficult if one has reference to these statements. If we were to set up a syllogism, here is how it would look:

Proposition A: E. R. will not shake hands with those who are guilty of mass killings.

Proposition B: E. R. will shake hands with Vishinsky.

Conclusion: Vishinsky is not guilty of mass killings.

But even Mrs. Roosevelt knows that he is — or was, rather. So what *was* she

—Wide World Photos

Andrei Vishinsky, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and Adolf Hitler.

trying to say? Was she trying to say that there are significant differences between Hitler and Vishinsky? If so, with reference to what system of ethics, or what system of logic, do these differences emerge? The only explanation Mrs. Roosevelt attempts is that "*after* Hitler had begun his mass killings," *then* she couldn't bear it. But not only has she been able to bear to shake hands and drink cocktails with the first-ranking butcher of the Soviet Union, she has found it bearable to talk with him, as a co-aspirant, about drafting a mutually satisfactory declaration of human rights!

It is much too easy to accept, on the basis of this performance, the explanation that Eleanor Roosevelt is anti-Nazi but pro-Communist. But that is not the answer. Eleanor Roosevelt is *not* pro-Communist. She just doesn't know how to think. Not even potentially, I should say. She is one of the people to whom Pythagoras could *not* have explained about his triangle.

It may be objected that generalizations about the Liberal mind based on anything that comes out of Mrs. Roosevelt are invalid. I disagree. The index to the intellectual sensitivity of a person is not only what comes out of him, but what he puts up with from others. Has anyone here ever heard any stentorian voice from Liberaldom register dismay at this or any other of the intellectual monstrosities mothered by this woman?

No: Mrs. Roosevelt is a certified Liberal, and I know of no one who refuses to acknowledge her license as a spokesman for American Liberalism. In quoting her I do not pretend to be quoting from a first-ranking Liberal scholar or philosopher; but I do ask why first-ranking Liberal scholars and philosophers and thoughtful laymen countenance her. It must be either because (a) they are aware that Mrs. Roosevelt's close personal and political association with her husband invested her with a glamor which is highly utilitarian, or (b), (and this is both more plausible and more charitable), not knowing themselves how to think, they are incompetent to recognize that Mrs. Roosevelt does not know how to think.

However farfetched this explanation may appear, how else do you account for it? The Liberal community never seems to have enough of her. Colleges stand in line to award her honorary degrees; she is forever speaking to any group on the subject of anything, and her annual books are snuggled close to the Liberal bosom. Only very, very seldom do they meet up with condign punishment. This happened with Mrs. Roosevelt's last book, which was unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of a man who *does* know how to think, Professor James Burnham.

Wrote Mr. Burnham:

In *India and the Awakening East,* Mrs. Roosevelt was able to complete her flower-strewn march unpricked by the thorns of reason. . . .

Like all her writing, the contents and prose of this book avoid excessive demands on her readers. In crossing from the Arab lands into Israel she has in one striking way a curious experience: the population, she finds, is predominantly Jewish. . . .

In another passage she tells us about Mr. Sudhir Ghosh, whose enthusiasm inspires one with confidence! What is a rational being to make of such a phrase? Enthusiasm inspires one with confidence? By the record, Hitler was the most enthusiastic man of our time, and Father Coughlin, Mao, Huey Long, and Lenin are not far behind. So therefore? But the phrase is of course not rational, nor the expression of reason. . . .

This furious energy, to which a gigantic ego frantically clings . . . is like a great tank with a drunken driver, loose in the crowded streets of a city. It is the onrush of sentiment, unguided and unrestrained by intelligence, reason, or principle. Over whatever subject, problem, plan, or issue Mrs. Roosevelt touches, she spreads a squidlike ink of directionless feeling. All distinctions are blurred, all analysis fouled, and in that murk clear thought is forever impossible.

Still — Mrs. Roosevelt is one woman, and there are many Liberals, so, properly, we must move on.

BIT OF AMERICANA!

Rather than to quote, at this point, a single Liberal spokesman, let me quote virtually all of them. Let me quote the president of the League of Women Voters of Middletown, Indiana, the book reviewer of the country weekly, the minister of the local church, the professor of politics at Harvard University, and the editor of the *New York Times*:

QUOTE: *The fact remains that not one conviction has resulted from the activities of Senator McCarthy.* It follows that his career has been useless.

I submit that this bit of Americana is as representative a *Liberal* statement as any in our history—and that it tells us rather a lot about the Liberals' capacity for logical and meaningful thought. Allow me to analyze it by quoting Senator McCarthy himself. Let me quote a few paragraphs from his testimony last summer before the Jenner Committee on congressional investigating procedures. I quote now from a man who above all others, the Liberals assure us, knows neither how to think, nor what to think. Bearing this in mind, compare the quality of thought in the ensuing words with that embodied in the daily anti-McCarthy editorial or speech we all read or hear:

> Let me, at this point, [said Senator McCarthy to the Jenner Committee] address myself to another prominent misapprehension, the effects of which beat down upon me and our committee as regularly as the sun rises. That is the eternal war whoop: How many convictions have you gotten? Not many? Then it follows that your work has been either unnecessary or incompetent.
>
> It is not the function of a congressional committee to get either indictments or convictions. Frequently, committee work does lead down the path to the Justice Department. But convictions most often result from the activities of those committees that address themselves to out-and-out lawbreaking — to graft, corruption, income tax evasion, etc.
>
> In the field of security, an indictment or a conviction is extremely hard to get —not because there are, say, fewer Communists in this country than there are income tax evaders. [But] a successful Communist is precisely that person who is skilled in throwing you and me off his tracks. In self-defense, then, it became the policy of the federal government to weed out of government all persons about whose loyalty there is a reasonable *doubt* —not just those persons who can definitely be established to be agents of the Soviet Union.
>
> The government does not go on to prosecute, nor should it—nor could it under the Constitution—the federal employee about whose loyalty there is merely a reasonable doubt: it is satisfied to dismiss him from federal service. It has been my principal concern, over the past years, to rout *security risks* out of government and defense industries.
>
> My chief concern has not been, in other words, to bring to trial those responsible for espionage and policy sabotage that has already been committed, but rather to *prevent future espionage and policy sabotage.* Every time a security risk is ejected from a sensitive agency of government or a defense plant, a step has been taken to guard against the possibility of future espionage. It is not as glamorous or as spectacular to prevent a future Alger Hiss from changing the course of history at a future Yalta as it is to detect an Alger Hiss who *did* change the course of history at a past Yalta.
>
> But I am more interested in preventing future Yaltas than in punishing those to blame for past ones—even if this means that I am not in a position to dangle a welter of scalps in the faces of my critics who, for a reason I cannot hope to understand, seem to be saying that my activities and those of our committee are not justified unless we produce a daily quota of traitors who have *already* stabbed this nation in the back. It is not enough, it seems, that we are devoting ourselves to insuring, as best we can, that she shall not be stabbed in the back at some future moment.

There is more depth, more attention to logical process, and a greater respect for intelligence in these few paragraphs than in volumes on the subject by the most expensive Liberal educators, editors, and publicists.

I have given just a few illustrations of representative *Liberal* logic, and move now to an examination of another category of *Liberal* thinking, still under the broad heading of irrationality.

HOBGOBLIN OF LITTLE MINDS!

I have on several occasions heard Liberals patronizingly dismiss any complaint about their inconsistencies by quoting Ralph Waldo Emerson, I think it was, who remarked that "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." Emerson was right; but not so the Liberals who lean on him so heavily. If today we write a check on insufficient funds, it would be foolish indeed if in the future we were to bemoan the "inconsistency" involved in writing checks on existing deposits. Nor can any reasonable member of this community criticize a regenerated Louis Budenz for the inconsistency of opposing, in 1954, the same dictatorship of the proletariat he supported so ardently in 1944.

Just the same, consistency is not a supernumerary virtue. For basically, consistency is justice, and therefore the inconsistent man, or the man who tolerates or supports inconsistency, is an unjust man. The law, for example, seeking justice, metes out the same penalty for the same offense. The society that sentences one drunkard to twenty-four hours in jail and another to the electric chair is unjust and could expect no quarter from Mr. Emerson; but this is the kind of inconsistency that, due to the curious workings of his mind, time and time again the Liberal is guilty of.

An example or two: Senator Ralph Flanders gets up on the floor of the Senate and asks whether or not an unnatural relationship between Roy Cohn and David Schine and Senator McCarthy doesn't satisfactorily explain their behavior throughout the Army episode. Good show, the Liberals seem to say, in unison; and immediately the wheels turn, the sabres flash, and before you know it our publicists have ground out a new folk hero—the granite-faced, jut-jawed, tough-talking New England dragon-killer; Edward Murrow's taut face momentarily relaxes as he smiling contemplates the essential goodness of man and democracy, and the sophisticated and calloused National Press Club in Washington breaks precedent to give

—Wide World Photo

Senator Ralph Flanders (right) hands Sen. Joe McCarthy written notice that he will attack him on the Senate floor. The presentation was made during Senate probe of the McCarthy-Army dispute.

Senator Flanders a standing ovation.

One reporter was so uncouth as to press the matter, asking Senator Flanders to crystallize his charges: Are you, said the reporter, are you saying that these men are perverts? Certainly not, said the Senator: I am merely asking questions.

Let us take a hypothetical situation. Tomorrow, President Eisenhower authorizes our ambassador in Japan to consent to limited trade between Japan and Red China. Senator McCarthy gets up on the floor and suggests that the action of the President is satisfactorily explained if one assumes he is a member of the Communist party. To those who immediately roar out their indignation he says, simply: I'm not accusing the President of being a Communist. I'm just asking questions . . .

It is as simple as that. Flanders can get away with something McCarthy, or Jenner, or Taft, or Knowland could never get away with. The Liberal community deals differently with the same offense, depending on who commits it and against whom it is committed.

A year ago Senator McCarthy said to a general in the United States Army, "Any general who says 'I will protect another general who protected Communists' is not fit to wear that uniform." The Liberal community fairly exploded with outrage. For General Zwicker had been decorated for bravery. (Anyone decorated for bravery, the Liberal seems to be saying, cannot, no matter what he subsequently does, be considered as unfit to wear a uniform. But it is not the irrelevance of this defense of General Zwicker that concerns us, here in a discussion of Liberal inconsistency.)

A Senate committee recommended McCarthy be censured for that one, and the Senate came mighty close to acting on the committee's recommendations. It didn't, finally; but its refusal to do so enraged the Liberals, one and all; we are guilty of letting down a man who has fought valiantly for his country, they said; so in their own minds, they censured McCarthy for this outrage.

A month or so after McCarthy had thus spoken to Zwicker, another legislator paid his respects, face to face, to another man with a distinguished background of military service, a fellow legislator. This congressman was decorated during the first world war with the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal, and the Purple Heart; he was awarded the Croix de Guerre with palm, he was cited for bravery by Marshal Petain, by General Edward, by General Hale, and by General Lewis. His name is B. Carroll Reece, and the assault upon him was made by Congressman Wayne Hays during a committee hearing over which Reece was presiding:

Hays: I will say this to (you) . . . that out where I come from we have a saying that if a man double-crosses you once, that is his fault; if he double-crosses you twice, that is your fault. I just want you to know you won't get the second opportunity.

Reece: . . . there is no living man can justifiably say that . . . (I) have ever double-crossed anybody or . . . failed to keep . . . (my) word.

Hays: I am saying both . . . is that clear enough? There is no inference there, is there?

Reece: That does not disturb me a particle.

Hays: I know. You are pretty hard to disturb. I thought they had more guts in Tennessee.

As far as I know, there has not been a single editorial in the *New York Times* urging that Congressman Hays be censured, not one manifesto from the committee for an effective Congress, nor an extra million dollars appropriated by the Fund for the Republic to look into the threat of "Haysism." In fact, I know of not one Liberal, prominent or not, who has suggested censure or even a mild reprimand. The best I could get out of Liberal publicist George Hamilton Combs—whose fulminations over the Zwicker incident shattered steel and concrete — and that only after suasion, cajolery, and threats, was that "perhaps Mr. Hays' conduct was a little undisciplined." And this, of course, is why: In the one case it was an outsider who was being abusive; in the other it was a fellow Liberal who, what is more, was engaged in obstructing an inquiry into the ideological bases of the great foundations, which, because they are virtually all run by Liberals, are by definition not investigable.

I submit that if McCarthy were to use such language as Hays used on the chairman of any committee of which he is a member, or were to employ such tactics, he would be run out of Washington with wet towels. Certainly he would activate the otherwise listless editorial writers of the *New York Times*.

NOT A WASHABLE EXPLANATION!

It is possible to maintain that such inconsistencies as these, and a thousand others that could readily be enumerated, reflect not on the Liberal mind, but on the Liberal temperament. Everyone loses control of himself, after all; and in the heat of the occasion we are all likely to apply one set of standards to those we approve of and another to those we do not.

I believe that such an explanation does not wash. For one thing, no human being loses his temper as often as a Liberal is inconsistent. And anyway, most Liberals are icy men who think in refrigerated offices, where passion is not admitted. Who ever heard of Walter Lippmann being carried away? No, I submit that the inconsistency of the Liberal is traceable neither to unbridled emotion nor to opportunism — but rather to his fundamental incapacity to think objectively. What I am saying is most of the time the Liberal doesn't *know* he's being inconsistent, doesn't *know* he's being unjust. He is so built that he cannot in a controversy in which he is committed, see the parallels in two situations; he moves not by reason but by instinct; he is the man who is truly prejudiced; for he consistently prejudges men and situations. The certified *Liberal* — the Eleanor Roosevelt, the Wayne Hays — cannot err; in going after Roy Cohn and Joseph McCarthy and Carroll Reece they cannot stumble, therefore they do not stumble, therefore the decent, the well disposed and the industrious of the community can give them their unthinking support; which is the type of support the Liberal characteristically extends.

Lack of objectivity leads to inconsistency, but it betrays, also, an incapacity to assess evidence; and this is the third aspect of the Liberal's irrationality.

The first illustration that comes to mind here is the most obvious, perhaps even the most written about. I mean, of course, our putative reign of terror. I haven't the energy to catalogue, once again, sample *Liberal* statements about our reign of terror, not even the more hilarious ones about how we go to jail if we read Thomas Jefferson, or get starved out by the American Legion if

—Wide World Photos

Congressmen Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio), above, and B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.) were central figures in a heated exchange during a House committee hearing which Reece headed.

we buy an English car. What I am getting at is neatly and simply synthesized in just one magazine piece by one author—Robert Maynard Hutchins, writing for *Look* magazine last spring. It was an orthodox reign-of-terror piece, climaxed by the assertion that it was no longer safe to give money to Harvard University.

Now here is a man who at the age of twenty-eight was appointed Dean of the Yale Law School, and who by the time he was thirty was recognized as such an articulate and important critic of American education that he was handed a whole university to experiment with, which he did, for twenty years or so. He ripped the curriculum to pieces; he swept away academic cobwebs; he instituted new courses, wiped out others; he brought in new professors and fired football coaches, and resurrected great books; and throughout it all he swore by all the gods that he meant to do one thing: He meant to educate. He meant to teach his students how to think.

And thirty years later, while still upholding his educational theories against all comers, he writes this kind of foolishness about the world we live in. Knowing of his respect for Plato, I wonder if Plato's dictum that the educated man is one who can "see things as they are" doesn't make him fidgety. Or whether, given his respect for Descartes, who said, *I think therefore I am*, Mr. Hutchins can even be sure he exists. After finishing that article in *Look*, bearing in mind Mr. Hutchins' pretensions, I could imagine anything—could imagine Lucky Luciano writing a book about how to live one's life at peace with one's God and one's neighbor, or a 250-pound lady lecturing on her patented formula for keeping thin. Surely to bring in Mr. Hutchins to head a university which proposes to teach students how to *think* is like bringing in as chief pilot for Pan American Airways a man with St. Vitus' dance.

I exaggerate, you feel. I oversimplify. But I don't. I maintain that there isn't a dialectical magician in this country—or even one in England—who can prove I am wrong in concluding that the man who points to that ceiling and says "That is a cumulus cloud" is blind; and I say that the man who reports that there is a reign of terror on in this country cannot assess evidence, cannot, for all intents and purposes, think; and that's the shoe that fits Robert Hutchins, who has been given fifteen million dollars by the Ford Foundation to *prove* that war is peace, slavery is freedom, hysteria is sanity.

PUBLIC PROTESTS DEMANDED A SCALP

One or two other illustrations of the incapacity of the Liberal to assess evidence, and I must move on to other characteristics of his mind. One thinks immediately of the J. B. Matthews episode.

—Wide World Photo
Robert M. Hutchins

In an article of a series which described the Communist penetration of our institutions, Mr. Matthews came, in due course, to our churches. And he began his article on them by making a purely statistical observation which he backed up in the body of the article itself by listing the names of many of the unfortunate clergymen who had associated themselves, for the most part during a period of moral and intellectual blackout, with one or more Communist enterprises.

The article in question was written for a conservative magazine, thus quite a while elapsed before anyone read it. But then someone did, and there was hell to pay for this assault on Christianity which, incredibly, is what it grew to be after the Liberals were through with it. A senator of the United States said, publicly, "When someone makes charges so foul, he ought to have the courage to name names." Our Liberal leaders fell all over each other making public protests, and demanding J. B. Matthews' scalp. Inevitably, it was delivered unto them. Only then did the Liberals feel that the crisis was past, that they could go back and preach about how ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

The afternoon that I heard that J. B. Matthews was fired—without a hearing, without any specific challenge to any of the data on the basis of which he made his generalization—that afternoon I felt the Liberals were through. The meaning of the J. B. Matthews episode would suddenly dawn upon the community, and never again, no never, not even at college commencements, could any of these people talk about—how does it go? "We shall seek the truth and endure the consequences?"—or about the presumption of innocence, or about a fair hearing, or about hysteria—without sending the audience into gales of laughter. I expected, and I am quite serious, that the social significance of the slogan, "Remember J. B. Matthews," would far outweigh in history, the military significance of the war-cry, "Remember the Alamo."

The mistake I made is obvious, and will probably strike most of my readers as childish. I had assumed that the Liberals would recognize that they had sinned; and that having done so, they would repent and reform. How innocent I was. For the most part, they do not know—to this day—the meaning of what they did. And the balance, those who know, don't care. To say "Remember J. B. Matthews!" to a *Liberal* audience communicates about as much as "Dig that crazy mixed-up square" would to a group of Oxford dons.

A final word about the Liberal and objective evidence. The research of the past ten years has made it literally impossible to uphold, rationally, the position that an attack by the Japanese, in one form or another, came in 1941 as a complete surprise to President Roosevelt and his close associates. But no evidence—of any kind—will alter the *Liberal* version of Pearl Harbor. Neither cleft mountains, separated seas, nor signs in the sky testifying to the truth will shake the Liberals' faith in Mr. Roosevelt as a "first principle," or their belief in his infallibility and omniscience as its corollaries. Not even a Liberal himself, not even an illustrious one, can do anything about this intellectual commitment. Charles Beard tried it, and they hounded him out of public life. What goes on. I asked a shrewd man, after reading a bitter excoriation of Beard by one of the court historians over at Columbia University in 1947. "It's as simple as this," he told me, "The greatest historian of our time has tackled the greatest politician of our time. There's no doubt about who is going to win."

To sum up. *When* the *Liberal* thinks, he tends to think illogically. He tends, moreover, to be inconsistent, and to ignore any evidence that fails to harmonize with the verdict he proposes at all cost to support.

Such are the qualifications of our intellectual elite.

THE "ARMCHAIR" LIBERAL

Another fundamental charcteristic of the Liberal mind, related to and perhaps responsible for some of its inconsistencies, is intolerance. The storied Liberal who reposes in his armchair and reviews, conscientiously, kindly, ungrudgingly, the parade of ideas that differ from his own, bears very little resemblance to the dogmatic, trigger-happy Liberal of today. The Liberal today makes of intolerance a way of life. Having prescribed the limits within which political discussion may safely go forward, he enforces those limits by

ruthless and unscrupulous persecution of noncomformity.

Certain ideas, the Liberal seems to be saying, cannot reasonably or morally be held by men who live in the twentieth century. No one, for example, may hold that a federal system of social security is unwarranted or unwise. No one may question the value of a progressive income tax either as an instrument of money-raising, or as a social equalizer. No one can oppose a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act; no one can question the right of labor unions to bargain on an industry-wide basis; and no one, without losing his chastity, may inquire into the validity of the institution known as "academic freedom." These are just a few of the taboos, of course, and they are mentioned only for illustration.

Largely, I suppose, because by the time his mind has developed it is conditioned to overlook evidence which supports conclusions different from his own, the Liberal fights hard and wantonly against those who hold such views. And the weapons he feels entitled to use, in behalf of Liberalism, are those whose use by others shocks and enrages him. A few weeks ago I saw a copy of the following letter, which I quote in its entirety:

> Dear Ken:
>
> I thought I wrote you once before asking you to take me off the mailing list of your disgusting communication. It does not give me any pleasure to find in my mail a copy of a letter to Senator Jenner, *who is so obviously disloyal to everything that America stands for*, and a letter, moreover, which so clearly indicates the same kind of disloyalty in its writer.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> JOSEPH ALSOP

Notice that Senator Jenner is not "mistaken," he is not "stupid," he is not "ignorant," he is "disloyal." More disloyal than John Carter Vincent, John Paton Davies, John Stewart Service, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and heaven only knows *how* many security risks Alsop has written tear-drenched and venomous columns in defense of.

Let me put it this way. I don't think either John Carter Vincent or William E. Jenner ought to be spoken of as disloyal even in the diluted sense in which (let us by all means assume) Alsop was using that word in his nasty letter to his cousin (Ken's his cousin). And I know that Mr. Alsop agrees with me, for he has often, over the years, expressed his contempt and anger for those who use that word lightly. What I should like to know is why he feels free to refer to Senator Jenner as disloyal? But we will never know. We will never know, I fear, what it is that makes Liberals that way; but we must know that they *are* that way; we must know that the hatred that they feel for anyone who disagrees with them twists their minds and poisons their hearts, and that beneath the suave and urbane exteriors that these worldly men exhibit in public and in private there are storms raging that rock any attempt at seasoned and calm and open-minded thought in any area in which they are deeply committed.

Let me quote from the *Congressional Record* of May 14 of last year. A Senator got up and addressed the chair as follows: "Mr. President," he said, "I wish, for the record, to correct a lie printed in the *Washington Post* of this morning. The lie is carried in the column of the unsavory character called"—but let's not identify the columnist at this moment.

The Senator then went on to quote the statement to which he objected—a statement which spoke of a political alliance in the Senator's home state. Said the Senator: "The writer, of course, knew when he wrote this falsehood that it was false, for he originated it . . . I should like to suggest to the *Washington Post* that it should not permit its pages to be used for the continuing dissemination of lies manufactured by this man. Furthermore, I think it owes it to its readers to make a thorough investigation of the past record of this man and to publish it, so that all who are subjected to his propaganda may know the character and reliability of its source . . . it is impossible" to discover the truth "when the pages of the press are permeated with deliberate lies."

Well, well. Who *do* you suppose this columnist is? This brazen liar, this unscrupulous troublemaker? Several names come to mind. Was it Ilya Ehrenburg or Gerald L. K. Smith? It wasn't, of course; it wasn't Drew Pearson, either. It was George Sokolsky—perhaps the most sober, and reliable, and certainly the most courteous political columnist in the United States today. And who do you suppose made such a savage attack on Sokolsky? It was none other than

—Wide World Photo

J. B. Matthews

J. William Fulbright, the loftiest Liberal in the Senate, the idol of the *Liberal* community, who through a vast program of international scholarships has struck mighty blows in behalf of World Understanding and Tolerance. It's the Robert Hutchins story all over again. Get yourself educated so you'll learn to know we're living under a reign of terror. Get yourself educated so that when you grow up you'll be tolerant like Senator Fulbright and know enough to recognize a pathological and perverted liar like George Sokolsky when you see one.

Note, too, Senator Fulbright's call for (a) an investigation of George Sokolsky (how ironic from a man who has, in effect, so diligently opposed investigations of men and groups which, some people think, pose rather a greater threat than does George Sokolsky); and note how Senator Fulbright is (b) calling on the *Washington Post* to *drop* George Sokolsky's column from its pages. For years the *Post* has run the outpourings of a man who indeed is—and can be demonstrated to be—a practiced liar. I mean Drew Pearson, of course. But Drew Pearson generally lies in behalf of Liberals, and against conservatives; he doesn't, therefore, excite the opposition of Senator Fulbright. But George Sokolsky does—because he is a conservative, and because some of his views fall outside the limits of tolerable opinion. That, and only that—nothing more—can explain the character of this frenzied outbreak of the former president of the University of Arkansas.

A CHOICE EXERCISE IN BOOK BURNING

As revealing an illustration as any I know of the determination of the Liberal to translate his intolerance into binding social rules which would have the effect of reading out of the community all dissent from the Liberal position—is contained in a recent column in the *New York Herald Tribune* by radio and TV-man John Crosby.

One day last May he devoted his column to the television program, *Author Meets the Critics*. He started out by denouncing Admiral Theobald, whose book, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, had been discussed on that program the night before. Admiral Theobald's charges were—I quote Crosby—"fantastic." "The Pearl Harbor attack has been the object of eight separate investigations," said Mr. Crosby, "which produced literally tons of testimony, evidence and opinion. There are no new facts in the Theobald book—*how could there be*—" (you see here a first-rate illustration of what I mean when I say that the Liberal postulates the correctness of his position and then—at this point quite logically—goes on to deduce that all factual data, known or unknown, must by definition support his position); there are no new facts, there are "only new and, *according to all reliable*

—Wide World Photos

George Sokolsky (left) and Sen. J. William Fulbright.

historians, absolutely unwarranted conclusions as to the motives of the President of the United States." Note, again, "*according to all reliable historians.*" If this means anything, it means, very simply, that no one who differs from the Liberals—from Mr. Crosby if you like—is reliable. It means literally nothing else, because surely there are no other grounds for calling, say, Charles Tansill, Harry Elmer Barnes, or Charles Beard "unreliable" historians.

And then Mr. Crosby came to the heart of the matter. He certainly wasn't going to waste one whole column simply denouncing Admiral Theobald. That would be just destructive criticism. Crosby wanted to be constructive. He wanted to see to it that Admiral Theobalds didn't happen again. So he comes out and says it—"But what is such a book *doing* on *Author Meets the Critics* . . . ? The program is on the air only once a week and consequently it can take on, at most, only fifty-two books a year. . . .

"You would think that *Author Meets the Critics* would tackle only those books which *a consensus of the critics* agreed were the best to come along . . ."

A consensus of the critics. Reliable critics, that is. Liberals.

Not only has Mr. Crosby in just so many words completed one of the choicest exercises in contemporary book burning, he probably doesn't, to this day, know, and I doubt if he will know it on the day he dies, he doesn't know what he did. Because, for the most part, the Liberals know not what they do.

Let me give a final illustration of this sort of thing. Everybody has been doing rather a lot of talking lately about the great foundations, due largely to the filing of the report of Carroll Reece's investigating committee.

It has been proved that there has been a measure of Communist infiltration of the foundations, true, but very little of it, as the Reece report indicates. What there has been, demonstrably, is wholesale infiltration of the foundations by American Liberals, so much of it that, it is fair to say, the Liberals today dominate the major foundations in America.

Now for some reason, a statement as straightforward as the one I have just made outrages the Liberals. Particularly if one goes on from here to point out that much of the money spent by these Liberal-controlled foundations has in the past and, predictably, will in the future be used in pursuit of Liberal goals, and that these goals are definable.

Suppose I were to set up a foundation, and that I named as president of that foundation John T. Flynn, as secretary George Sokolsky, as treasurer Fulton Lewis, Jr., and as corresponding secretary Westbrook Pegler. Suppose someone referred to my foundation as *conservative*. If I objected to this description, wouldn't I be considered a lunatic? "Of course that's a conservative foundation," all reasonable men would agree. And since dollars don't spend themselves, checks don't write themselves out, and grants are not made to those who pick the winner of the Irish Sweepstakes, *somebody* will have to spend those dollars, *somebody* will have to write out those checks, and *somebody* will have to select the recipients of that grant. And that *somebody* will bring his values along when he makes these decisions, and, inevitably, the foundation will take on the political and philosophical flavor of the men who run it.

Now I maintain that all *reasonable* men must by the same token agree that any organization whose central figures are Robert Hutchins, Paul Hoffman, Clifford Case, and Elmer Davis is as demonstrably Liberal as my hypothetical foundation would be, demonstrably, conservative. It follows that all those who refuse to acknowledge this are unreasonable men as, indeed, I have been contending, Liberals by and large are. But not only do the Liberals refuse to concede any such thing about any of these foundations, they viciously and ruthlessly harass and boycott any foundation that devotes as much as *half* of its time to presenting the conservative view. This, basically, is at the heart of *Liberal* opposition to Facts Forum. Facts Forum, which is staffed to a recognizable degree by conservatives, nevertheless devotes half of its resources to putting forward the Liberal view. But the other half of the time it presents the conservative view—and this is not permissible, as any Liberal will tell you, in his sleep.

This intolerance takes on, inevitably, a most serious shape. It becomes, as we have seen, the agent of book burning, of the suppression of free speech and research. It becomes also the agent of political authoritarianism. I have often followed the lead of Mr. Eugene Lyons in using the descriptive adjective *totalitarian* immediately in front of the word *Liberal*, and I was not just name-calling. I have meant that the Liberal movement has totalitarian tendencies, and I mean it now when I contend that the Liberal is basically undemocratic. He is basically against coexistence—with anyone on his *right*. And the triumph of his intolerance is the virtual disappearance of the two-party system.

I first caught on to the Liberal political game many years, I am certain, after most of you did. It happened to me rather suddenly, in the spring of 1950, after reading an article in the *New York Times Magazine* called "The Need for an Intelligent Opposition." The article was written by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. He was reading not only the Republican party and its leaders, but all conservatives as well, a little lecture, the gist of which was this: We *Liberals*, said Schlesinger, think it's important for you conservatives to be around. It gets stagnant otherwise; it keeps us on our toes to have to cope with you. We're all for you.

There's only one thing, though, he added. And that is, you must be intelligent. Otherwise you're of no use to us, to yourselves, or to anyone.

Mr. Schlesinger then proceeded to tell us how to be intelligent. What it amounted to, was for us to desert our principles and embrace his. At that point we would qualify as an "intelligent opposition."

A few months later Mr. Herbert Agar, writing in *Harper's Magazine*, came through with an article on almost precisely the same question, and suggesting exactly the same road for conservative salvation.

Now one would think that Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Agar, and their disingenuous crusade for a renaissance of conservatism, would have been laughed off by our intelligent conservatives. Far from it. Perhaps there weren't enough intelligent conservatives who saw through this thinly disguised appeal for a two-party, one-platform political system. Either that, or there were enough intelligent men who saw through it, but they were not conservative. In any case, it is a matter of fact that the Liberals now control both the Democratic and the Republican parties, and mean to continue to do so, as, presumably, they mean also to continue to oppose each other "intelligently" on such questions as whether we ought to give away six billion dollars or only five and one-half billion, or whether federal social security ought to cover fifty million people or only forty-eight million, or whether the minimum wage ought to be one dollar or eighty-five cents.

The clearest exhibition I have seen—and at that one written by a right-wing Liberal—of the Liberal-political thought process appeared in the *New York Times* in an article by Mr. Arthur Krock in September, 1952, in the middle of the presidential election campaign. The night before, in Portland, Oregon, Adlai Stevenson had made a speech in which he chided editors and columnists throughout the country for committing themselves to supporting

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OPPENHEIMER STORY

(Continued from Page 30)

the Oppenheimer brothers, Dr. Weinberg, Dr. Bohm, Dr. Hawkins, Fuchs and other Communists made important contributions to its development. The real mistake was after the war, in permitting the American people and even the Congress of the United States to think that the bomb was an American secret and therefore it was safe to disarm in face of the Soviet's overwhelming superiority in other fields. Those responsible for this terrible blunder have on their shoulders the responsibility for the death of every American boy killed in Korea. Without the mistaken belief in America's sole possession of atomic secrets the people would never have permitted our reduction of other armaments to such a dangerous level that the Communist invasion of Korea became possible.

After discussing the background of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his wife Katherine in considerable detail, I said:

Perhaps I have devoted too much attention to one individual. And before I leave this point I wish to make clear for the record that I have no personal knowledge of actual espionage on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's part—or that of his brother. I do not know what his *present* attitude

—Wide World Photo

Frank Oppenheimer

is to the Soviet Union and the Communist party, although thorough investigations will show evidence of Communist activities of both brothers at surprisingly recent dates. If Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is anti-Soviet today, he should come forward with the full and complete details of his previous associations with the Communist movement—and his wife's connections. And he should publicly denounce the actions of his brother Frank, who refused to give information of vital importance to the country regarding his former associates in the party.

The Communist party is not and never has been a pink tea party of discussion groups and idealists. It is and always has been a cold-blooded hard disciplined organization of revolutionists dedicated to the overthrow of the government of the United States by brute force. It has always been and still is devoted to the aim of aiding the Soviet Union to win a war over the United States—the "last citadel of world capitalism." The party has never permitted anyone to remain a member . . . who did not believe in armed overthrow of the government. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who has been a subscriber to the Communist daily papers since 1938 (and probably earlier), his brother Frank, also a subscriber to the Communist press for years, and the others in that special section in Alameda County all knew these facts only too well. Espionage . . . should not be surprising in a party openly dedicated to the aim of bringing about the defeat of "one's own government" and the armed victory of the Soviet Union over the United States. That is only a detail in the process.

A full scale and public investigation of atomic espionage and the role of the Communist party in connection with it should be made by the United States Senate. There should be no "sacred cows," no names free from the light of truth and evidence. All former Communists who have broken with the party must be called upon to come forward and tell the truth and all the truth: those who refuse to do so must be regarded as still Communists and traitors to their country in this hour of great danger.

The Senate committee planned a thorough investigation and executive and public hearings. I was told that my wife and I would soon face Dr. Oppenheimer and his wife before the committee.

(To be concluded next month)

Radio & TV Schedule

(Continued from Page 44)

Newport News	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-AM*	1270	To be announced	
	WACH-TV*	33	To be announced	
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced	
Orange	WJMA**	1340	Sun	9:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV*	10	Sat	2:30 p
	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	2:30 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	12:00 n
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450		
	WLPM**	1450		
Waynesboro	WAYB*		To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
WASHINGTON				
Bellingham	KPUG‡	1170	Sun	8:30 p
Everett	KRKO‡	1380	Sun	8:30 p
Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun	8:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Olympia	KGY‡	1240	Sun	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	6:30 p
	KVI‡	570	Sun	8:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	5:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
WEST VIRGINIA				
Bluefield	WKOY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Charleston	WCAW*	1400	Sun	8:00 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Fairmont	WJPB-TV**	35	Sat	8:00 p
	WJPB-TV*	35	Thurs	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV*	4	Sun	7:30 p
	WOAY-TV**	4	Sun	5:00 p
Parkersburg	WCEF*	1050	To be announced	
	WTAP-TV**	15	Wed	9:30 p
	WTAP-TV*	15	Sun	5:30 p
Wheeling	WKWK*		Sun	7:45 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
WISCONSIN				
Appleton	WHBY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	WATW‡	1400	Thurs	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KFIZ‡	1450	Thurs	8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
	WJPG‡	1440	Thurs	8:30 p
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WLCX‡	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	
WYOMING				
Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cheyenne	KFBC-TV*	5	Sun	6:00 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
	KOVE‡	1230	Thurs	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
	KPOW‡	1260	Thurs	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
	KWYO‡	1410	Thurs	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30 p

CANADIAN LIBERALS

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sons there is apparently an emotional appeal and glamour, as it were a sense of adventure, inherent in the conspiratorial methods and purposive activity of the groups. With more sophisticated persons, fascination by what may appear to them to be the efficiency of the unusual and essentially totalitarian system of party organization through pyramiding cells may offer an attractive appeal.

In the vast majority of cases, one important element in the original appeal would seem to have been propaganda carried out by the Communist party for various measures of "social reform" in Canada. The policy of carrying on propaganda for various domestic measures which in themselves are calculated to appeal to a substantial section of the Canadian people, has obviously served two important objectives of the leaders of the Fifth Column.

In the first place, by associating such domestic propaganda, in the minds of as many people as possible, with the external propaganda of a particular foreign state, this policy serves in itself to "carry," by implication, that foreign state's propaganda. This is a common and very effective nonrational technique of modern advertising. An obvious commercial example is the use of a pretty face in advertisements for cigarettes.

Secondly, such domestic propaganda has unquestionably played an important part in recruiting Canadians for the "development" courses calculated eventually to make these Canadians instruments for more sinister and illegal Fifth Column purposes.

By these means, a number of young Canadians, public servants and others, who begin with a desire to advance causes which they consider worthy, have been induced into joining study groups of the Communist party. They are persuaded to keep this adherence secret. They have then been led step by step along the ingenious psychological development courses we have outlined, until under the influence of sophisticated and unscrupulous leaders they have been persuaded to engage in illegal activities directed against the safety and interests of their own society.

Essentially what has happened is the transplanting of a conspiratorial technique, which was first developed in less fortunate countries to promote an underground struggle against tyranny, to a democratic society where it is singularly inappropriate.

Communism and Intellectuals

(Continued from Page 5)

SMOOT: How do they answer that one?

SCHWARZ: They have the answer ready to the tip of their tongues. It is one word: and that word is science. "We are scientists. Science has remade the material world. Science has remade the world of agriculture. Science has remade the world of animal husbandry. And we're going to use science to remake mankind itself."

This also sounds good until the detail of this scientific process is revealed. The Communists say, "We are logical men. Science must operate in accordance with scientific laws, and these are the laws by which we must operate:

"Law No. 1: There is no God."

The Communists are proudly, unashamedly atheists in theory and in practice. They make no secret of this. One direct quote should suffice. I have here a book entitled *Religion*, by one Communist who never took refuge under the Fifth Amendment: V. I. Lenin. The opening sentence is all that is necessary.

"Atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism, of the theory and practice of scientific socialism."

When they deny God, they simultaneously deny every value that originates with God. They deny moral law, the Ten Commandments, absolute standards of right and wrong, truth and error. They destroy a whole civilization and culture. Man is left on the playing fields of the universe without an umpire—without a book of rules—so that the winning side can make up the rules as they go along.

The second law of communism concerns the nature of man. What is man? Whence does he come? Whither is he going? Why is he here? What significance has life, death, love, hate, joy, sorrow?

What is man? Communism answers: "Man is a material machine. Man is matter in motion, and nothing more. Man is a body. Within this body there is a stomach secreting gastric juice, a liver secreting bile, a brain secreting emotion and thought. Man has no soul, no spirit, no significant individual value, no continuity of life. Man is a beast."

SMOOT: Man is an animal! That, then, is the essence of Communist philosophy?

SCHWARZ: Yes! The Communists are fanatical, dogmatic, consistent Darwinian evolutionists. The three people who most influenced Karl Marx were Hegel, who taught him the dialectic; Feuerbach, who taught him materialism; and Darwin, who taught him evolution.

Communists believe that mankind can be reformed in exactly the same way as any other portion of the animal kingdom, and this is the key to their program for perfection of the human race. William Z. Foster, Chairman of the American Communist party, frankly expounds this in his book, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, published in 1949. The culminating chapter is entitled, "The Advent of Socialist Man." He writes:

"But the biggest of all tasks to improve the physical well-being of humanity and thereby the broadening of the base for its freedom is to improve the human species itself in an evolutionary sense. The law of natural selection, which built the marvelous complexities of plant and animal species, no longer can work spontaneously. Now the evolution of the human species must be done artificially by the conscious action of man himself."

SMOOT: Men, then, are to be made over, not in the image of God, but in the image of some Socialist plan?

SCHWARZ: Exactly! A moment of intelligent contemplation of the Communists' artificially directing the evolution of the human species will conjure up terrifying visions.

The third law of communism concerns the origin of human intelligence, personality, character, and culture. Karl Marx taught, and the Communists have fanatically promulgated, the doctrine of economic determinism. This simply means that the qualities of an individual, the ideas of his mind, the emotions of his heart, the very love a mother bears to the children of her own body, the devotion of a citizen to his country, and the adoration of a worshiper of his God, are merely the projections into consciousness of the external economic environment. The name given to this doctrine is "economic determinism."

And upon these three basic laws—atheism, evolutionary materialism, and economic determinism—the entire Communist program for remaking mankind is built.

Since many individuals inhabit the same economic environment, they develop the same type of ideas, characters, and personalities, constituting themselves an economic class. This leads to the Marxist concept of the class structure of society, the class war, the triumph of the proletarian class, and the emergence of the classless society. The

—Wide World Photo

William Z. Foster

Communists believe the class of the future is what they call the proletarian class. All other classes must simply be exterminated.

You say to the Communists, "You inhuman monsters! You mean you'd murder millions of people in cold blood?"

They say, "What do you mean, murder? That's a bourgeois term. You mean kill them? Why, don't be childish. Of course we would! Why, nature's been killing people by the countless millions for millions of years—killing them by hunger, by famine, by war, by disease, by old age—killing them for no purpose. And if we hesitate to do that which is scientifically necessary to fulfill our destiny and re-create mankind, how unworthy of the trust history has imposed on us we would be. We're only animals. Where'd you get the idea you were important? That's merely the subjective projection in consciousness of your favored economic environment. As Lenin said, 'What's it matter if three-quarters of the world perish, provided the remaining quarter is Communist?'

"The human species is very fertile. You can easily get plenty more. Put on a competition, breeding them up one a year. What's all the fuss about?"

SMOOT: People who believe such things think they can create a Socialist society which will be perfect?

SCHWARZ: They think that way. They act that way. They treat their own that way. And they're endeavoring to come this way to treat us and those we love that way. Once you deny God; once you deny the special creation of man; once you deny the love of God, you're naked and defenseless before the logic of the Communist argument.

To bring the matter close home, there is very good evidence to believe that the Communist party believes it will be necessary to exterminate at least one-third of the American people after their

advent to power. The motive for this is not hatred or punishment, but the cold logic of the scientific necessity of their program to artificially control the evolution of the human species. When they come for you to give you the treatment, with your family, of course, that they have so graciously given to millions on the face of the earth, you can comfort yourself with the thought that you're dying in the interest of the scientific perfection of the human race. You may find that some comfort, but personally I find it none whatever.

Communism is the literal fulfillment of Psalm 14. The fool that said in his heart, "there is no God," and emerging from the tainted source of godlessness and scientific materialism, the exterminating avalanche of communism is sweeping the earth.

In the last analysis, communism originates in three things: (1) materialistic philosophy; (2) scientific technique; and (3) religious fanatacism. It must be met in all phases of its advance. To meet it there is necessary, firstly, a vast educational campaign of the very nature and being of this deadly and malignant enemy, that a real understanding of the danger may penetrate the consciousness, not of the isolated few, but of the great majority of the freedom-loving people whose very existence is so desperately threatened. Out of this understanding, a scientific program, not merely to contain, but to defeat this enemy must be formed.

And, lastly, any such program is doomed to failure unless it rests upon a devoted people, dedicated to the spiritual values of our Christian civilization. Faith can only be matched by faith, passion by passion, and sacrifice by sacrifice. And communism presents a challenge to intelligent sacrificial devotion as the very cornerstone of liberty and survival.

"Communism does not arise where there is poverty. Communism arises out of a disease of modern capitalist society, particularly in the intelligentsia. . . . The Communists are always concerned with *winning over the intellectuals*, the opinion makers of society. Why is it so important to win over these people, even more important than to win over the trade unionists? . . . In a country like ours, where it is impossible, given the social structure, to have a mass Communist movement, the intellectual becomes extremely important as a means of spreading the party line. . . . What it comes down to is the need to set up echo chambers around the country, so that certain notions can enter general currency."

—Daniel Bell in *Jewish Labor Committee Outlook* (Autumn 1954). Quoted from J. B. Matthews in *American Mercury*, June 1955, p. 81.

The Liberal Mind

(Continued from Page 57)

Dwight Eisenhower "long before," said Stevenson, "they knew what this candidate stood for, or what his party platform would be, or who his opponent was, or what would be the issues of the campaign."

So Arthur Krock sat down to explain a few realities to Mr. Adlai Stevenson, and he did this by reminding him of the nine calculations made by the average Liberal editor the previous spring.

1. Last spring, it had become clear to everyone that the Republican party would nominate either Eisenhower or Taft. Moreover, it was clear that Taft opposed Truman's foreign policy.

2. On the other hand, it was clear that General Eisenhower went along with Truman's foreign policy.

3. If Truman wanted to, he could get himself nominated by the Democratic party. He might be facing Taft, the candidate of the Republican party. And, to quote Mr. Krock, 'signs were numerous that in a Taft-Truman contest the Senator would have an excellent chance of election.'

4. I quote 'To those who . . . believed (in Truman's foreign policy) the prospect of Taft as President was calamitous; and obviously the first and effective means of preventing this was the nomination of Eisenhower, the only other Republican who had a chance to be chosen by the party convention.'

5. But 'newspapers and individuals who held this opinion would have had small influence with the Republican National Convention unless they indicated they were prepared to back Eisenhower in the campaign if nominated.'

6. Other Democratic contenders were also weak, and, (7), Stevenson was saying he was not a contender for the nomination.

Therefore, (8), 'To those newspapers and citizens that wanted' Truman's foreign policy to be championed . . . the plain procedure was to attempt to assure this at the Republican convention (which came first) through the nomination of Eisenhower.'

And furthermore, (9), Stevenson ought to know this, as he too, surely, agrees that it would have been calamitous if Taft had got in.

This, in microcosm, is the Liberal primer on how to get your way no matter who wins. It's the political way of saying, heads I win, tails you lose. It is also a primer on how to end the two-party system in America. It is curious how much more successful the Liberals have been in their struggle against conservatives than in their struggle against Communists.

If what I say about the *Liberal* mind is true, what is in store for us? We know that politically the Liberals are too powerful for us to unseat, or at least I think they are. It follows that the Liberals will continue to preside over our war against communism, here and abroad. And, on the other hand, we know there is no chance whatever of changing the character of communism; so what is there left for us to do?

One attitude we might take, a highly tempting one as a matter of fact, is suggested by the answer made by a middle western farmer to an insurance man investigating a train wreck. The farmer was the sole witness, and he was asked to report exactly what he had seen.

"Well," he said, "I was plowing my field here when I saw the Twentieth Century Limited, over there on my right, moving along toward New York at about 80 miles an hour. Then I looked around and saw the Merchants Express going toward Chicago, at about 75 miles an hour. Then all of a sudden I realized they were on the same track."

"Well, what did you do about it," the insurance agent said excitedly. "Did you try to flag one of them down, or to get the attention of the engineers in any way? What *did* you do!"

"I didn't do anything," said the farmer, "I just sat there and thought to myself, this is a hell of a way to run a railroad!"

In twenty years we have fought two wars and, in the larger sense, lost them both. As the direct result of our foreign policy we now face, at point blank range, the most formidable enemy civilization has ever faced. In the meantime a revolution has taken place in the United States. We are losing our freedom; we are trading it, recklessly, for an illusory security in behalf of which we continue, wantonly, to turn over to the central government year in and year out more and more of the power without which we cannot long remain free.

Perhaps it is true that, as Whittaker Chambers wrote me recently, "it is idle to talk about preventing the wreck of Western civilization. It is already a wreck from within. That is why we can hope to do little more now than snatch a fingernail of a saint from the rack or a handful of ashes from the faggots, and bury them secretly in a flowerpot against the day, ages hence, when a few men begin again to dare to believe that there was once something else, that something else is thinkable, and need some evidence of what it was, and the fortifying knowledge that there were those who, at the great nightfall, took loving thought to preserve the tokens of hope and truth." It's a hell of a way to run a country, all right. But perhaps we will gain strength from adversity; perhaps the knowledge of what we are responsible for will some day confront us, and frighten us, and reform us and make us wise; perhaps, even, God will take pity on us. Let us hope so.

FF PULSE RATING

Pulse, Inc., has completed its survey for the month of March, 1955, of the radio listening habits of the Raleigh, N. C., radio audience.

Facts Forum's 12-minute pro and con discussion of national issues by Dan Smoot, (WPTF, 680, 1:15-1:30 p.m. Sundays) received the highest rating of any program in that time segment—a rating of 6.0—which means that 29 per cent of all radios in use at that time were tuned to this program. The program with the next largest listening audience rated 3.0.

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

This magazine is just the sort of thing we have needed for a long, long time. I am looking forward to the next issue.

MRS. FRED E. EPTON
State Chairman National Defense
Oregon Society, DAR
4812 N.E. Glisan St.
Portland 13, Oregon

. . . *Facts Forum News* is a wonderful magazine to air our pros and cons. I read it from cover to cover, find it enlightening and educational, and then send it on to others.

DR. BERTHA B. LININGER
1349 Cherokee, Apt. 122
Hollywood 28, Calif.

I was very much interested and impressed with the discussion between Mr. Dan Smoot and Dr. Fred C. Schwarz ["Communism and Intellectuals," p. 2]. . . . I would greatly appreciate two copies. . . .

CONGRESSMAN JACKSON B. CHASE (R-Neb.)
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

. . . Let me say that I consider your idea of giving the pros and cons of public questions a very good one—also your idea of forming discussion groups in local communities. These, together with your efforts to stimulate people to think about public questions by writing letters to editors, constitute a real public service—one long overdue. . . .

EVANGELINE S. MCALLISTER
Bayard, Neb.

I enjoyed reading your magazine and wish we had more of your kind of magazine for the U.S. people, who are so badly informed.

Keep up the good work; we need honest information in this critical time.

MRS. ANNA CHENNAULT
(Mrs. Claire L. Chennault)
1000 Cole Ave., Monroe, Louisiana

We consider the articles in your April 1955 issue. . . dealing with the United Nations and the subject "Peace in Our Time?" to be especially valuable.

The writer was about to inquire if it would not be worthwhile for you to prepare such articles, and you have anticipated this requirement.

We congratulate you on this work.

GEORGE B. FOWLER, Treasurer
Valley Paper Company, Holyoke, Mass.

SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS

(Continued from Page 27)

nists. But their dislike is not a bitter thing. It is kindly and nostalgic. Many of the great liberals who used to support the Communist fronts openly but who nowadays call themselves anti-Communists have not really changed their own social, political, and ethical point of view. They are merely disgruntled with the Communists for not bringing about the Socialist Utopia which the Communists promised and in which they still place their naive faith.

Such liberals do not hate the Communists as people who have betrayed America. Rather, they are impatient with the Communists because, in their queer code, the Communists have betrayed Marxism.

This may or may not adequately explain why so many prominent Americans who are heirs of a great tradition of freedom, who look upon themselves as the keepers of the nation's conscience, who seem really to believe that they are dedicated to the cause of human justice in the world, can nonetheless be found consistently following the line and supporting the cause of international communism.

HOPE TO RENDER FBI INEFFECTIVE

Whatever their motives (whatever the explanation for their motives) the fact remains that the big push is on—to find some means of rendering J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI ineffective as anti-Communists.

The anti-anti-Communists, flushed with recent victories, are out to stop all of the effective investigations of communism which have proven so embarrassing to them.

They are a powerful and persuasive lot.

Fortunately, however, we Americans still have men from both political parties in the Congress and Senate of the United States who can read and understand what they read—men who know that the international Communist conspiracy has already cost the lives of thousands of American soldiers; who know that today innocent American boys are in Chinese Communist prisons; and who know that every American Communist shares the guilt for the indescribable crimes against humanity which the Communists have already committed.

In addition to such men as Senator Jenner, whose stature as an anti-Communist is second to none, we have, for example, Senator John McClellan, who (despite his own differences with Joe McCarthy) took up where McCarthy was forced to leave off and actually found out who did promote Peress.

We have staunch men in Washington who will not give up the fight against communism, despite all political pressures, as long as they receive encouragement from the American people.

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AUTHOR NOW KNOWN

May 3, 1955

Gentlemen:

On page 30 of your April edition of *Facts Forum News*, you published a parody of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address—"Author Unknown." While it is true that the author is unknown, he does have a name.

The parody was first printed in "A Line O' Type Or Two" which is a column in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. This was done in their edition of Friday, March 18, 1949.

Since that time, it has been reprinted extensively, reaching its highest circulation in the March 10, 1952, edition of *Time* magazine.

The authorship of the parody was acknowledged by *Time* in their "Letters" column in the edition of March 31, 1952. Along with the acknowledgment was a comment from a Mr. Richard H. Waddell of Los Angeles, California. He wrote: "Your parody on Lincoln's great Gettysburg Address represents bad taste in the extreme! Years ago they were desecrating the Twenty-Third Psalm in the same childish manner, and it wasn't especially young even then."

I quote Mr. Waddell out of respect for your passion for giving both sides of a story.

And of course, the unknown author is

EVAN JONES
2714 Berwyn Ave.
Chicago 25, Ill.

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, $25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, $10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS, with a token award of 5 records containing 10 Dan Smoot talks, for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes. Decision of judges will be made four days prior to closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month.

FIRST HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending June 30, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, $300; second, $200; third, $100.

SLOGAN:

An award of $32 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of $10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll Card. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be answered on the ANSWERS FOR AMERICANS program to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a $100 bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.

LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award
GIVE-AWAY PROGRAM INCLUDES OUR SONS

To *Free Men Speak:*

For two years, I have been fighting for the release of all our men still held by the Chinese Reds. My only boy is one of the missing and presumed dead (with no proof whatsoever).... The Reds hold an untold number of our boys in slave camps. We did not raise our sons to be sold down the river for a cheap, miserable peace. Our government shows cowardice in being soft to the Reds.... Our sons were abandoned and "written off," sold, sealed and delivered as part of appeasement—a part of our "give-away" program.... Our sons were loyal to their country. Has our country been loyal to them?

Mrs. Rita Van Wees
854 Hunts Point Ave.,
Bronx 59, N. Y.

* * *

2nd Award
HIGHLY COMMENDS JUDGE THOMASON

To the *El Paso Times:*

The motion for a new trial for Jencks challenged our Constitution.

Our courts treated Matusow with an amazing impartiality. Witnessing the disrespect he held for society and the pleasure it gave him, was disgusting. As the web closed around him, its effects could be noticed in his evil expression. He became less cocky as his eyes sank back in his head.

Why does a self-respecting lawyer defend a self-admitted recidivist like Matusow?

Judge Thomason will go down in history for overruling the Jencks motion for a new trial; for holding Matusow in contempt, and for barring lawyers from his court who invoke the Fifth Amendment. El Paso is proud of Judge Thomason.

Our country should profit from his rulings. Let's make it impossible for Commies to find defense counsel who try to make a mockery of our courts.

Judge Thomason, we take our hats off to you.

Brent Wells
P. O. Box 1527, El Paso, Texas

* * *

3rd Award
NEGATIVE TRAINING IS CONDEMNED

To the *New Bedford Standard-Times:*

In all America, can no Moses be found who will lead us out of the wilderness and stagnant pools of negative thinking, back to the white light of positive thinking and action, on which this nation was founded and grew great?

We are being led to the high mountain of temptation by native Marxists, bribing us with a pyramiding stock market, to forget our sacred honor, our flag, our posterity and our duty to help free the Christian world, while we clutch to our bosoms our possessions and so-called security.

We sink deeper and deeper into the outstretched arms of the devil, lulled by the monotonous refrain:

Be careful, do nothing but turn the other cheek, lest you disturb the slumbers of the golden calf, resting on the mythical bed of "coexistence."

Grace Bacon
37 Walnut Place, Newtonville, Mass.

* * *

4th Award
PROGRAM FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS

To the *Washington Post:*

William Hamilton's letter on the Committee of Endorsers' 11-point Foreign Relations Program should have discussed its three basic principles:

1. The independent sovereignty of the United States;
2. A peaceful community of free sovereign nations, based on law and equity;
3. The Communist dictatorship which, as obstacle, must be neutralized and ultimately exterminated.

Our critic thinks George Washington outmoded, quite forgetting his policies—and the Monroe Doctrine inapplicable, despite the subtle techniques of advancing the Communist system in this hemisphere. We leave his comments on nonrecognition of Russia and on open covenants to the niceties of his diplomatic sophistry. His UN statements are devastatingly destroyed in Senator Knowland's Washington Birthday speech.

Our critic dismisses cavalierly the Program's four points on the Communist conspiracy, which is significant enough.

Alvin M. Bentley
Member of Congress for Michigan
1038 New House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

* * *

5th Award
COMING OF SOVIET FARM 'STUDENTS' RECALLS LENIN'S WORD ON U.S. DOOM

To the *New York World Telegram and Sun:*

Now that we are inviting the farmers, "students," etc., from Russia into our

country, it might be well if we didn't forget the following words spoken by Lenin in 1922:

"First we will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack; it will fall like over-ripe fruit in our hands. We must secure the good will of teachers and professors in schools and universities, of liberal ministers of religion, and of the pacifists and reformers of the world in order to create a mental barrage in the minds of capitalistic youth, which shall forever bar them from participating in a carnal conflict with the Communist party."

Kathryn Ellis Nowak
15 St. Paul's Road So.
Hempstead, N. Y.

* * *

6th Award
EDUCATION GOING DOWN HILL

To the *Chemical & Engineering News:*

The shortage of scientists today may be attributed to a variety of causes. One significant basic cause is the trend for over 25 years for the educational system to forsake fundamentally essential subjects by displacing them with "life adjustment" theories.

Participation in science courses in the nation's secondary schools sagged from 84 to 50%, mathematics from 86 to 55%, algebra from 56 to 27%, geometry from 27 to 13%, languages from 73 to 22%.

I have seen the present deplorable condition develop in our schools over the past 30 years. The three R's have been forsaken in schools for various frills and furbelows.

The American Chemical Society along with other professional organizations might do well to take heed of such a trend, and lend its effort to constructive improvement. Our future national welfare may well hinge on how well we are prepared scientifically to meet future world problems.

J. S. Hicks
P. O. Box 545, Huntsville, Texas

* * *

7th Award (Tie)
WHAT CRIME AT YALTA?

To the *Omaha World Herald:*

What a field day you had over the Yalta papers! As any one would expect up to this writing neither you nor any of your friends have told what was so terrible about the papers now that they are public property. Where is the crime and what was it?

Would Stalin have given up Poland, stayed out of China, or the Kurile Islands if Roosevelt and Churchill had asked him to do so?

Most of your trouble lies in the fact that Roosevelt whipped you and your medieval ideas four straight times.

Eric G. De Flon, M.D.
242 Pine, Chadron, Neb.

7th Award (Tie)
YALTA PAPERS

To the *Los Angeles Times:*

The decision to make the Yalta papers public was correct. The public is entitled to know the facts concerning the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs and the Eisenhower administration.

What happened at Yalta was directly responsible for the Far Eastern crisis today. Concessions were given to the Russians which paved the way for the Communists to take over China.

The Korean war, the war in Indochina and the crisis in Formosa resulted directly from the fall of China.

It is vitally important that the American people remember and understand the tragedy of Yalta and the results of our previous conferences with the Communists. These records must be thoroughly examined and publicized so that we do not make the same mistakes in the future.

Patrick J. Hillings
Member of Congress, 25th District
California
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

* * *

8th Award
AMERICAN TOOLS OF COMMUNISM

To the *Berkshire Evening Eagle:*
(Pittsfield, Mass.)

If there lives a more debased human being than a Communist, it must be the American tool who wilfully and wittingly writes, publishes, and/or promotes the slimy sludge of a known Communist. Most knowledgeable people agree that we are actively engaged in a phase of World War III. Deliberate, active assistance to the Communist cause is not only unpatriotic, it is suicide.

Parents can be rightly concerned when our youngsters of reading age are exposed to irresponsible huckstering of overt attacks on religion, morals, and government. "Progressive" education may be the principal cause of juvenile delinquency, but vying for first place is a cynical, unmoral, un-American, "liberal" press.

Edgar L. Hollis
46 Marcella Avenue
Pittsfield, Mass.

* * *

9th Award
LOYAL AMERICANS SHOULD BE AROUSED TO TIDE OF SOCIALISM AND STATISM

To the *Indianapolis Star:*

Every government-sponsored Utopian measure involves a proportionate loss of liberty. Many people apparently don't realize that he who receives must also give. And that one day the toll will exceed the benefit.

Every government gift has a string attached . . . to your wallet. Next it taxes your self-respect. Not much at a time perhaps, but as it becomes increasingly easy it takes increasing amounts.

Let's not be so naive that we believe we can lose a little liberty without suffering a tremendous loss. A little always means a little more. And a little more soon becomes a lot.

What happens next? What happens when the people awaken some fine morning only to discover that they have nothing more to give? You guessed it! Statism, socialism, communism, whatever you wish to call it, has arrived—its arrival being preceded of course by only one other event—its invitation.

Leroy M. Pelkin
946 N. Meridian
Indianapolis, Ind.

* * *

10th Award
IN HOT RODS

To the *Los Angeles Times:*

An objective comparison of the past 40 years with Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" discloses a deadly parallel in the courses of the United States and Rome down the road to ruin.

The only difference is one of time; it took Rome several centuries, whereas we bid fair to make it in less than one. But then they had to do it in chariots, while we're doing it in hot rods.

Hunter Lovelace
776 N. Van Ness Avenue
Hollywood 38, Calif.

* * *

11th Award
AGAINST FEDERAL AID TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

To the *Dallas Times Herald:*

Federal aid to education removes from the community, the basic unit of American life, the right to meet their own problems in their own way. Federal encroachment upon local rights destroys the fundamental principles of American democracy.

The federal Constitution does not delegate power for the federal government to control or aid education, but provides that powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the people, or to the states, which implies to individual communities.

There are those who seek to destroy not only the Constitution but every vestige of human rights in America. Both Republican and Democratic parties are guilty of this charge. Both parties, as liberal social planning or communistic thinking exponents, embrace total federal aid to education. Russia and China have "federal" aid to education. Do you want it in America? Federal aid to education is a giant wedge to destroy human rights in America.

Charles L. Hatcher, D.D.S.
3618 Fairmount, Dallas, Texas

12th Award
WANTS TO MAKE IT VOLUNTARY PLAN

To the *Shreveport Times:*

Should Social Security be voluntary? Yes!

In private insurance, the terminal reserve of a company is the trust fund from which all benefits to policy-holders are paid. If company officials allow even one penny of that fund to be used for other purposes, they are declared insolvent, are put out of business and the executives will be subject to heavy penalties by law.

Our government has spent the millions of dollars collected for Social Security. Therefore, Social Security is not backed by terminal reserve, but by I.O.U.'s. Compulsory "Social Security" is unconstitutional, deprives me of choosing my own insurance company, and of spending my earnings as I see fit.

Many people have had to drop insurance paid on for years, which covered more, just because of compulsory "Social un-Security."

Mrs. L. M. Brook
Rt. 1, Box 80, De Ridder, La.

* * *

13th Award
A CIVIL DEFENSE IDEA

To the *Weekly Star Farmer:*

What can we as civilians do about civil defense? Why not, in addition to a strong military reserve of younger men, organize a true home guard composed of the millions of sportsmen, farmers, ex-soldiers over draft and reserve age, and all such loyal Americans who have their own guns and are skilled in their use? Why not organize (with the succession of authority clearly understood) the men of the small towns and rural areas, particularly, who are least likely to suffer from air attacks?

Why leave all the real burden of defense to the young; they have no corner on courage. We have in these older men a vast reservoir of manpower, weapons, courage and ability that should be utilized to carry on in the extreme emergency that might overtake us at any tomorrow.

Leona Miller Cranston
Rural Route 2, Atlanta, Kansas

* * *

14th Award
CITES OBLIGATIONS OF EMPLOYEES

To the *Dallas Times Herald:*

A man employed to work for another man automatically assumes two important moral obligations. An employee should willingly give his employer complete loyalty and an honest day's work.

We all know individuals who have the attitude of getting the most for the least. Such an attitude slowly, but surely destroys the moral fiber of its possessor. The idea of getting something for nothing is as corrosive as cancer.

Conversely, the person who gives his employer the best he has, not only contributes to his employer's success, but paves the way for his own success. An incontestable law of life is those who give the most get the most. Nothing gives a man greater satisfaction than the knowledge he has been of value to someone else.

Ed Reed
7607 Piedmont, Dallas, Texas

Additional award winners for June will be published in the next issue.

SOVIET SANDIA?

(Continued from Page 51)

bombs, while we continued at the one per cent rate? Would they not then have the four to one advantage?

Noting briefly two general points: (1) that no amount of concentration compensates for a single radical qualitative failure (*i.e.*, you have to introduce zero only once into any group of factors to make the product zero), and (2) that even four per cent in Russia cuts far closer to the bone than one per cent in the U.S. (you may trade butter for guns, but not the last bowl of gruel if you are going to have strength enough left to fire the thing), the gravamen of our rejoinder seems to be that the Russians quite evidently are putting great effort into non-atomic military forces. Indeed the commonly accepted and officially encouraged picture is one of hundreds of divisions of ground forces and myriads of MIG's. Those things use up industrial capacity.

The editors of *Business Week*, whose reports on atomic energy have quasi-official authority, stated in their issue for July 28, 1951: "AEC dollars may not bulk large in a $60-billion defense program, but they are spent in very sensitive areas: When its new plants are built, AEC will be the nation's largest single consumer of electricity; plutonium plants compete directly for rare materials with the critical jet-engine program; U-235 plants use the same sort of equipment as refineries and chemical works."[35]

At this point I'm just about ready to pack up and go home, unless you've got some new evidence. If the composition of the atomic materials data sheet is such that the United States can feel the pinch after putting one per cent into this business, then I don't think the Russian Commies are going to make the grade.

"The Soviet Union," says *Fortune*, "has the worst housing in Europe, the shoddiest clothes, the thinnest diet . . . It also has more jet aircraft than all the NATO nations put together."[36]

Then where are they going to get those directly competitive rare materials for plutonium plants?

There is one other bite out of the Russian economy that is worth considering if we assume an extensive atomic project over there. That is the cost of secrecy. This has been mightily discussed in the conferences of the U.S. atomic energy experts, and there is a copious "literature" on the subject. And, indeed, what we pay for such internal security as we have is not inconsiderable.

But try to imagine, in that line, the drain on the economy of the Soviets required not only to maintain their whole secret police system, and not only to establish and maintain beyond the Urals all kinds of gigantic industrial installations located for strategic rather than economic reasons—but also to do all this in such thorough secrecy that the President of the United States longest in office during the critical period is not convinced the Russians have a workable bomb!

Put syllogistically, it's like this:

(1) Secrecy is a handicap to progress.

(2) Russia has more secrecy than America has.

(3) Russia is more severely handicapped than America is. With the other handicaps, that may well finish them off as competitors in "Achievement."

Dr. Harold Urey once said U.S. progress involved firing most of our security officers.[37] In Russia the whole project was under the then No. 1 security officer of the world, Lavrenti Beria:[38]

Beria's fall and the detonation of an H-bomb were announced with characteristic incongruity in the summer of 1953. The H-bomb development may end a rumor that Beria's fall was due to failure at Atomsk. On the other hand, perhaps he was purged *because* he made an H-bomb. Several of our own experts have deplored our production of tritium at the expense of plutonium. If Beria diverted scarce materials from A-bomb resources so as to show off before his imperialist friends with H-bomb fireworks, then of course he was open to the charge, among others, of "adventurism."

But speculation on the internal intrigues of the comrades is foreign to a sober estimate of productive capacity. I propose the following as a reasonable working hypothesis: *The United States atomic energy project is today—in the year 195[5]—overwhelmingly superior in practical productivity to any other atomic energy project known or plausibly conjectured to exist.*

---

[35] *The Atom*, 1951, p. 8.

[36] *Fortune*, Feb. 1953, p. 120.

[37] Reported in an editorial in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Dec. 1949, p. 326.

[38] The authority for this is, I must confess, in the realm of "common knowledge." I first learned of Beria's reported responsibility in the column of Joseph and Stewart Alsop.

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

- ☐ ☐ Should we let the Communists take Quemoy and Matsu?
- ☐ ☐ Is progressive education a tool of communism?
- ☐ ☐ Should the U.S. use sterner measures to liberate our boys from China?
- ☐ ☐ Is U.S. policy of generous gifts abroad winning many friends?
- ☐ ☐ Does UN membership limit our constitutional rights?
- ☐ ☐ Has the U.S. ever gained anything from conferences with Red Russia?
- ☐ ☐ Does poverty aid in the spread of communism?
- ☐ ☐ Is it possible to promote world government and be loyal to U.S.?
- ☐ ☐ Do we need Bricker Amendment to protect Constitution from UN treaties?
- ☐ ☐ Should surplus wheat be given to Russia to alleviate food shortages?
- ☐ ☐ Is NATO indispensable to the security of the U.S.?
- ☐ ☐ Should labor be granted an annual wage?

Remarks_____

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• To receive regular Facts Forum Poll card each month, already addressed and with postage paid, simply write your request once to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas.

• You or your friends may write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.), and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes will be counted the same as if they were entered on a ballot.

See Page 42 for Results of May Poll

POLL QUESTION WINNERS

FOR JUNE, 1955

An award of $10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

1st: MRS. P. L. BUFORD
Baylor Station
Belton, Texas

2nd: MR. J. CARLETON LYONS
Putney, Vermont

3rd: MR. WILLIAM J. BENNETT
1511 Linde St.
San Diego, California

4th: MRS. D. H. M. COOK
138 Disraeli Rd.
Putney S.W. 15, England

5th: MR. EARLY VAN DEVENTER
19-331 Leeside St.
Glendora, California

6th: MISS E. M. JOHNSON
222 Eighth St.
Washington 2, D. C.

7th: MRS. JEWELL R. KENT
Tishomingo, Oklahoma

8th: MRS. VIRGINIA B. ALMORE
356 N. Craig St.
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

9th: MISS MARY SMITH
Decatur, Illinois

10th: MRS. MELBA R. BENTLEY
7519 Greenville St.
Houston 20, Texas

11th: MRS. L. WELCH
27½ Morton St.
New York 14, New York

12th: MR. SAM W. DUNAWAY
4502 Cass St.
San Diego 9, California

THIS MONTH'S SLOGAN

"HONOR our FLAG and FREEDOM,
lest FREEDOM and HONOR FLAG."

Submitted by

Miss Elizabeth Hamm
535 South Gramercy Place, Los Angeles 5, California

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

I think your Letters to the Editor section is a most worthy and fine way to present a cross section viewpoint of what is disturbing good Americans today. These letters are always most interesting and thought-provoking.

THOMAS J. CASHMAN
619 Park Ave., Portsmouth, R. I.

The job that you are doing, both in print and over the airways, to disseminate information on vital issues of the day to the generally ill-informed American public, is most commendable. I heartily endorse your efforts and hope that your endeavors continue to be successful.

2ND LT. JAMES D. MCDONALD
The Quartermaster School
P. O. Box 507, Fort Lee, Virginia

Many people listen to Facts Forum broadcasts, and I wish to take this opportunity to let you know I feel your program is doing our country a great deal of good by enlightening many of our citizens as to the true facts on very important questions.

A. O. MILLER
P. O. Box 541, Grand Coulee, Wash.

...Facts Forum is an undertaking of tremendous importance. You face the challenge of destructive influences which thrive on ignorance, misinformation, and socialistic confusion. Need for such service is pertinent to the times....

DAN F. GRAY, M.D.
102½ W. Oklahoma, Guthrie, Okla.

...Want to thank you...for your kindness in sending us the two films...which were run last week.... We had a very good group and a discussion period afterward. The film on modern education was particularly interesting, as we had several teachers there and they all stated their views, in an effort to help each other.

J. LEROY SLOAT
1421 Monroe Avenue, Wyomissing, Pa.

...I wish more people could get to the meat of the subject as you do....

ROBERT F. VAN DEGRIFF
Southern California Water Co.
11911 S. Vermont Ave.,
Los Angeles, Calif.

I am watching your [television] program regularly...which is most informative and one that every thinking person of the day should see and have copies of...for further analysis at leisure time...as the present times do demand that we understand the reasons why the political pot is boiling so violently....

N. W. WHITE
85 Hanna St., E., Windsor, Ont., Canada

...The work you are doing in informing the public...is something we all have been needing for quite some time...I think [this information] is going to clear up a lot of things and help us to know what we really want.

MRS. WILLARD LONG
Powder Spring Rd., Marietta, Ga.

Dan Smoot Urges:

Let Freedom Ring!

"ADD PATRIOTISM TO ADS"

Listen to FACTS FORUM with Dan Smoot or contact FACTS FORUM, Dallas, Texas

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

July 11, 1955

Mr. Tolson:

Former officials Stanley Tracy and D. M. Ladd dropped by my office July 8, 1955, and in my absence spoke to DeLoach. They wanted to pass on the information that the millionaire oil man, H. L. Hunt, from Texas, is withdrawing his support of Facts Forum, both a publication and television and radio program which has been going on now for some time. Mr. Tracy stated that Mr. Hunt was despondent over the recent death of his wife and that there was considerable dissension among the office staff of Facts Forum. Former Special Agent Daniel Smoot is planning to leave the Facts Forum set up as of August 1, 1955. Tracy did not know where Smoot would be employed in the future.

Both Ladd and Tracy have intentions of approaching Hunt, if conditions permit, regarding the possiblity of obtaining his support of their library of information here in Washington. Tracy indicated that they had not definitely decided to do this yet but just wanted to let the Director know of their intentions.

Mr. Ladd referred to anti-Communist activities in the State of Florida and the fact that one Ellis Rubin would be kicked out as Assistant to the Attorney General in Florida within the next several days. Rubin has received considerable publicity as a result of his speeches and alleged anti-Communist work in Florida. He attempted to sponsor special legislation in the last Florida State Legislature relative to outlawing the Communist Party in the State of Florida. He failed in this attempt. Ladd stated that a Dr. Fort of Rollins College, Orlando, Florida, and Joe Jenkins, State Commander of the American Legion in Florida, had approached him (Ladd) and asked him if he would take Ellis Rubin's place as Special Assistant to the Attorney General. Ladd told them that if he accepted the position, he would not be able to devote full time to his duties. Fort and Jenkins, however, insisted upon Ladd's accepting the position and Ladd put them off by stating he would consider the matter and would contact them in the future.

Respectfully,

62-94811-38

RECORDED - 73
INDEXED - 73

16 JUL 29 1955

L. B. Nichols

CDD:arm
(2)

65 JUL 29 1955

2 Autostat copies made
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-102318-

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

7/28/55

MR. NICHOLS

RE: "FACTS FORUM"

Rex Findley, of the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, has advised me that he has been in touch with several members of the American Legion Americanism Commission from the State of Texas. They are considerably agitated over the breaking up of "Facts Forum." Mr. H. L. Hunt, reportedly believing that his wife would outlive him, placed most of his investments in his wife's name. As you know, she recently died. Hunt is now having great difficulty in financing many of his projects in view of the legal entanglements in which he finds his wife's estate. He is also completely dissatisfied with the personnel of "Facts Forum." Former Special Agent Dan Smoot, as a result of inefficiency in the handling of finances, was instrumental in the firing of Medford Evans, one of the editors on the Forum. Hunt reportedly became agitated over Smoot's handling of the Evans matter and insisted that Smoot resign his $18,000 a year job. Smoot has now sent out a large group of letters to subscribers of "Facts Forum" indicating that he was called upon by numerous subscribers to present his personal opinion of current events rather than both sides of the matter as always depicted in "Facts Forum" and on the various television and radio programs. Smoot is trying to line up subscribers to a new publication and thus far has only 500 subscribers.

Findley told me that the source of the above information was Karl Baarslag, who was in Washington last week and whom has kept abreast of all activities within "Facts Forum."

Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

(Smoot is showing his true colors & running true to form 7/29 LBN)

CDD:fc
(2)

Smoot is showing his true colors and running true to form. LBN 7/29

62-94811-39

RECORDED - 44

EX-118

AUG 11 1955

SENT DIRECTOR 7-30-55

I auto stat copy 8-17-55 (12)

PERS. FILES

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DECEMBER 16, 1955

b7C

TO: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. [redacted] COLLECT

RECORDED - 65 Transmit the following message

62-94811-40

FACTS FORUM NEWS
DALLAS, TEXAS

INDEXED - 65

IN REPLY YOUR WIRE THIS DATE, YOU HAVE PERMISSION TO REPRINT MY SPEECH BEFORE MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE, PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER THIRD.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COPIES DESTROYED
NOV 30 1964 96

NOTE: It is felt telegram contains mistake and that name is actually Facts Forum News. Dallas telephone directory contains no record of Facts "Form;" however, it does contain Facts "Forum." Bufiles contain no information identifiable with [redacted] / or [redacted] no derogatory information re [redacted]*

In June, 1951, the Dallas Office submitted background information re Facts Forum which was apparently financed by oil millionaire H. L. Hunt. Former SA Howard D. Smoot was associated with Facts Forum and he EOD 3-23-42, and resigned shortly after he was censored and placed on probation in May, 1951. He had made several unfounded charges against the SAC and his attitude before his resignation and subsequent thereto was entirely unjustified. It was recommended in a memorandum dated July 14, 1951, captioned "Facts Forum, Former Special Agent Howard D. Smoot," that we not cooperate with that organization in any way. (62-94811-4) It is deemed advisable, however, to give Facts Forum News permission to reprint the Director's speech at the IACP meeting. It is to be noted that Smoot has reportedly resigned upon request, his $18,000 job with Facts Forum.

b7C

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

* Although telegram bears only the name of [redacted] several pieces of correspondence from Facts Forum indicate a [redacted] to be the coordinator of Facts Forum. Some of these letters were signed by this individual as [redacted] It is deemed advisable to use full name. Dallas telephone directory also contains [redacted] but no [redacted]

b7C

TED:mbk

50 DEC 27 1955

SENT VIA WESTERN UNION M Per

REAU OF INVESTIGATION
ARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ICATIONS SECTION

DEC 16 1955

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

BI WU M 034 PD AR

FAX DALLAS TEX DEC 16 857AMC

J EDGAR HOOVER, DIR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY WE HAVE PERMISSION TO REPRINT IN A FORTHCOMING ISSUE OF FACTS FORM NEWS YOUR SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 62ND MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE PHILADELPHIA PA OCT 3 1955. PLEASE WIRE COLLECT

[redacted] Facts

b7C

1037A

62ND 1955.

RECORDED - 65

62-94811-40

DEC 20 1955

CC [redacted] b7C

EX-107

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 2, 1956

FROM : [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: RENEWAL OF "FACTS FORUM NEWS"

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

It is time to renew "Facts Forum News."

I do not feel it is justified, however, due to the limited amount of information in this publication of value to the FBI. We originally wanted it because of Dan Smoot's connection with it. As former Agent Dan Smoot is no longer connected with "Facts Forum News" it is not felt necessary.

[redacted]

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

That no renewal be made at this time.

BMS:mbk
(3)

RECORDED - 30 62-94811-41

11 JUL 10 1956

14

JUL 17 1956

Copy auto 2/16/56

PERS. FILES

July 12, 1956

RECORDED - 78 62-94811-42

INDEXED - 78 [redacted] b7C

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

EX-121

Dear [redacted] b7C

Your letter of July 7, 1956, has been received. While I would like to be of service in connection with your inquiry, data in the files of the FBI is confidential and available for official use only. Furthermore, this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency, and it is not within the scope of our authority to draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication.

Please do not infer from my inability to be of assistance that we do or do not have information concerning the subject of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Facts Forum is an organization founded in Dallas in the summer of 1951, by H. L. Hunt, millionaire oil man. It was designed to act in a non-partisan capacity to continue studies regarding public opinion polls, governmental science and other topics. It was formerly under the direction of former Special Agent Howard D. Smoot, EOD 3/23/42. He resigned in May, 1951, after being placed on probation for leveling unfounded charges against his Special Agent in Charge. (62-94811-4) Subject's file 116-136095 appears to be identical with the correspondent. He was being considered in 1949 for a position at Aberdeen Proving Ground and investigation conducted by the Bureau failed to disclose any derogatory data regarding him.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

RGE:blh
(3)

MAILED 8
JUL 12 1956
COMM-FBI

for your information

68 JUL 16

[redacted]

Huntingdon, Pa.

b7C

July 7, 1956

FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Our Guidance and History teacher has started to receive gratus a magazine called "FACTS FORUM" It is printed at Dallas, Texas. The magazine tends to belittle the American way of life and seems to play too favorable on the Communism way of life. I would appreciate knowing whether this magazine is on your list of Communist magazines.

Very truly yours, b7C

[redacted]

RECORDED - 78 62-94811-42

16 JUL 13 1956

EX-121

CRIMES REC.

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

Huntingdon, Pa.

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

62-94811-43

RECORDED - 71

October 2, 1956

[redacted] b7C

Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Your letter of September 24, 1956, and its enclosures have been received. I appreciate very much your interest in bringing this material to my attention and in giving me the benefit of your views.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a recent article which I thought you would like to have.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

OCT 2 11 59 AM '56
REC'D-READING ROOM
F B I

Enclosure "Communist 'New Look' A Study in Duplicity"

NOTE: Former SA [redacted] b7C
Passage to which he takes exception in attached advertising circular for "Facts Forum News," is not necessarily disrespectful nor does it infer that the FBI is not alert as indicated by the correspondent. The Director is quoted as saying that there are only "20,890" Communists in the U. S. This is inconsistent with the Director's testimony before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations last February, at which time he gave the figure of 20,289.

RGE:gfs
(3)

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAILED 5
OCT 2 - 1956
COMM-FBI

67 NOV 20 1956

Wm. WRIGLEY Jr. Company.

MAKERS OF Healthful · Refreshing · Delicious

800 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E., ATLANTA 5, GEO

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

September 24, 1956

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau
of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Facts Forum

As one of your former agents, I am very much interested in you and the work of the Bureau. It, therefore, gave me some concern to see an organization smear you in an effort to sell a subscription of Facts Forum News.

Attached is the letter and other literature that I received. Possibly you may have already seen this letter but I wanted to make sure. I don't know how my name got on this mailing list.

I just want you to know that I still treasure the memories of my work in the Bureau and I feel that such a background has helped me tremendously with my present company.

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7C

District Sales Manager
WM. WRIGLEY JR. CO.

ENCLOSURE

CJMcC/cam

RECORDED - 71 62-94811-43

EXP. PROC.

SEP 26 1956

b7C

[redacted] entered on duty 3/22/43 and resigned 2/21/46. On the Special Efficiency Report at [redacted] resignation he was given the rating of [redacted].

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

62-94811-43

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

I would not want to miss even one issue of the magazine that I consider one of the most important sources for getting the "FACTS," . . . not just biased and slanted opinions.

EDWARD R. GAFFNEY
1419 Comly Street
Philadelphia 49, Pennsylvania

I should like to compliment you on your comprehensive news coverage presented in a very unbiased manner. You are doing much to open the eyes of many [citizens].

RICHARD TEAFORD
Southwestern College
Memphis, Tennessee

The March number of *Facts Forum News* is a "WOW." All this timely information being withheld for so long from the people will have a devastating effect on many of our news editors. People will ask: Why haven't we heard this before from our supposedly free press?

ELEANOR G. PRICE
Route 2
Dover, New Hampshire

Facts Forum News is the very best kind of reading for Americans who wish to know facts and inform themselves on current issues facing the nation. It is second to none. . . .

C. A. NOLAN
R. R. No. 2
Seymour, Indiana

Please allow me to compliment you on the articles by George Brada exposing the left-wing movement which pretends to be anti-Red: The Crusade for Freedom.

LT. GENERAL P. A. DEL VALLE
Troy Hill, Box 240
Elkridge 27, Maryland

I . . . believe *Facts Forum News* to be one of the most helpful and provocative pieces of news that has come to my desk. I am sure that it will be most helpful to us in our educational program. . . .

ROBERT L. WILLETT
President, Ricker College
Houlton, Maine

What they're saying . . .

about FACTS FORUM

Facts Forum News has arrived and . . . I find it a valuable source for information on current controversial topics because of the comprehensive analysis of different points of view which are given. . . .

DEAN LONG
Acting President
Evansville College
Evansville, Indiana

. . . I know of no finer manner to enlighten the people than is contained in every article of your magazine, facts and thoughts most vital in their political lives and general well-being. . . .

LAWRENCE WALLACE LATSHAW
Kansas City, Missouri

I have read raves in *Facts Forum News* about various issues being the best. . . . I give up. All I can say is that they're all "best"! I have a file of them that goes back to 1952.

MRS. C. D. MCNARY
2312 Clermont Street
Denver 7, Colorado

As a subscriber to your fine magazine, I believe that you are presenting the most important national and international problems in a most interesting and informative manner. If only more people could read your magazine, they would soon be awakened to the serious threat that Communists, both in the Kremlin and in the United States, pose to the security of our country. . . .

ROBERT F. HART
Associate Editor
The Sentinel
Lowell, Massachusetts

If a majority of our national publications and daily newspapers would strive as consistently as *Facts Forum [News]* does to popularize the return to constitutional government, what a public awakening there would be in a few short years.

L. L. HENDERSON
Route 2
Corning, Iowa

Facts Forum [News] is a great magazine and should be proud to be controversial.

RICHARD L. NORTON
1/Lt. USAF

BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

NO POSTAGE STAMP REQUIRED IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

FACTS FORUM NEWS

1710 JACKSON ST.

DALLAS 1, TEXAS

First Class
Permit No. 4795
DALLAS, TEXAS

62-94811-43

I accept your no-risk offer. Send me...

12 months of FACTS FORUM NEWS for $3 . . . . plus a FREE copy of "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." Handbook

reprinted from the complete Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Reports

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

Guarantee: If Facts Forum News does not more than fulfill your expectations, you may cancel your subscription at any time for a refund covering all undelivered copies. The "Handbook" is yours to keep!

The book they're trying to ban...

Yours Free

with a 1 year subscription to

Facts Forum News

Both for only $3

Are you really alert ... wide awake, alert ... to the threat of Communism?

Or have you taken J. Edgar Hoover's statement that there are only 20,890 Communists in the U. S. as proof they are only a small, ineffective band?

How many men do you think it would take to drop a tiny vial of deadly poison in the water supply of a great city? Have you ever stopped to consider what even one man could do by placing a time bomb within a suitcase left in the locker of a great railway terminal ... in the baggage compartment of a crack train ... aboard a giant airliner?

Even more dangerous because they work in more subtle and disarming ways, are the suave "gentlemen" who have wormed their way into places of confidence and responsibility in government and the diplomatic corps. Infinitely more deadly are the variety who plant their "bombs" in the minds of the unsuspecting ... from the ambush of the lecture platform, classroom or pulpit!

Communism is a real threat as long as we do not understand it ... until we realize the fanatical zeal of men who have pledged allegiance to the Hammer and Sickle while taking refuge under the Stars and Stripes.

Congressman Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, recently said:

> "...numbers mean nothing...It's a case of where people are placed, the opportunities they have to influence thinking...Actually, until I found myself a member of this committee, I hadn't the faintest idea that this conspiracy had spread as far as it had."

If members of Congress haven't had the opportunity to become fully aware of the dangers of Communism, where then can you and I ... Americans in all walks of life ... learn the truth so that we may effectively resist them?

A few months ago, Facts Forum News received a report covering years of investigation by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. They call it:

> "A Handbook for Americans - The Communist Party of the USA - What It Is, How It Works."

But very likely you haven't seen a copy. It was distributed in very limited

62-94811-43

numbers ... and pressure is being exerted to keep it from further printings.

We've taken this report ... just as it was revealed and recorded by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee ... and set it in modern easy-to-read style. We've enlivened it with pictures of witnesses who brought these facts to light and top Communists who would like to remain in the dark.

Packed into 64 magazine-sized pages, this is a document which should be read by every individual from high school age on up. It is a source of vital facts that belongs in every American home

... a reference you can have in your home without cost simply by ordering a one-year subscription to Facts Forum News on our money-back guarantee.

We have a dual purpose in making this offer. First, we know that if you and enough other thinking persons read this book, America will have little to fear from Communism. Its evils and degradation of peoples will be evident, its insidious purposes and methods revealed to all.

Armed with this information, you will be in a better position to assist your government, your nation. You'll be able to recognize and keep in check both outright Communists and their equally dangerous Fellow Travelers.

We also want you to have the opportunity to examine the magazine that many persons have told us should be in every home in America. Just as the "Communist Party Handbook" exposes Communism, Facts Forum News will acquaint you with the dangers that threaten the American Way of life in every form.

We believe you are the kind of person who can particularly appreciate Facts Forum's unique policy of presenting both sides of the controversial questions and will then be able to more effectively support the Freedom side. We are confident that, once you have examined this important news source, you will want to have it regularly and will tell your friends about it.

This may sound like a strong statement, but we do not want you to take our word for it.

Will you make us prove it by accepting this special NO RISK OFFER:

Just write your name and address on the enclosed introductory offer card, which brings you 12 full months of Facts Forum News for only $3

PLUS a free bonus copy of the complete "Communist Party Handbook"

If Facts Forum News does not more than satisfy your expectations, you may cancel your subscription at any time for a refund covering all undelivered copies. The Handbook is yours to KEEP, regardless.

But supplies are limited and orders will be filled on a first come, first served basis. Make sure of your copy by using the handy order form and postpaid envelope TODAY. We will bill you later if you prefer.

Yours,

S. R. Entwistle

for a greater America

S. R. Entwistle/ab

RECORDED - 23

62-71211-44

INDEXED - 23

November 16, 1956

[redacted]

Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts

b7C

Dear [redacted]:

Your letter of November 4, 1956, with enclosures, has been received. While I appreciate the concern which prompted you to write, I wish to advise that this Bureau has no authority over material sent through the mail.

If you prefer not to receive the publications which you mentioned, it is suggested that you correspond directly with the editors of the literature in question and request that your name be removed from their records.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent not identifiable in Bufiles.

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mason
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room

CBF:ogh
(3)

MAILED
NOV 1 6 1956
COM-FBI

AMHERST COLLEGE
AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS

Nov. 4, 1956

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

(1) About one year ago I watched a televison program "Facts Forum" on which they offered a $100 savings bond to the person who would send them a topic for discussion on their program that they would use. I sent them a question regarding American tariff policies. I did not win the savings bond.

Since that time I seem to have been placed on the mailing lists of radical groups of both the left and right wing parties. I have kept a collection of much of the material I have received because it was so controversial and so radical.

1 ENCLOSURE

I am diametrically opposed to most of the things these parties and splinter groups stand for, and do not want to have my name associated with them. Although I disagree with the principles behind the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, I am aware of the stigma that can be attached to one's name due to casual affiliation or correspondence with any of these groups, especially when applying for government jobs. I have never written to any of these groups, nor attended their meetings. I would like to be advised as to how I can have my name removed from whatever lists or list it is on.

I will list some of the organizations that have sent me literature:

For America Party
National Society Guardians of our American Heritage
Controversationalist Newsletter
Right (Newsletter)
Christian Nationalist Crusade
Free Enterprise (Newspaper)
Socialist Labor Party
Church League of America and the National Laymen's Council
News and Views
The Trumpet (Newspaper)
Dan Smoot Report
Free Men Speak (Newspaper)
Everett R. Taylor
Nationalist Conservative Party
The Word (Newspaper of United Socialist Movement)
The Whitney Company
The National Committee for T. Coleman Andrews and Thomas H. Werdel

I was even invited to the Republican Convention to be a lobby by ~~the Right~~ Liberty and Property, Inc. and Right Newsletter.

Enclosed is a letter I received from Sweden which if you read you will see is most disgusting.

I was an American Field Service student and am not an isolationist. My other political views are for the most part Republican and I do not want to be affiliated with any of these groups. Will you please advise me as to what is the best thing to do about this.

b7C

Sincerely yours,

Home address:
[redacted]
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

College address:
[redacted]
Amherst College
Amherst, Mass.

This leaflet prosecuted by the Minister of Justice of Sweden – found not guilty by the Jury at the magistrates' court of Stockholm, Sept. 15, 1948.

Kol Nidre-All vows

The "Kol Nidre" is a Jewish prayer named from its opening words, "All vows". It is based on the declaration of the Talmud: "He who wishes that his vows and oaths shall have no value, stands up at the beginning of the year and says: 'All vows which I shall make during the year shall be of no value'."

It would be pleasant to be able to declare that this is merely one of the curiosities of the darkness which covers the Talmud, but the fact is that "Kol Nidre" is not only an ancient curiosity; **it is also a modern practice.** In the volume of revised "Festival Prayers", published in 1919 by the Hebrew Publishing Company, New York, the prayer appears in its fullness:

"All vows, obligations, oaths or anathemas, pledges of all names, which we have vowed, sworn, devoted, or bound ourselves to, from this day of atonement, until the next day of atonement (whose arrival we hope for in happiness) we repent, aforehand, of them all. They shall all be deemed absolved, forgiven, annulled, void and made of no effect; they shall not be binding, not have any power; the vows shall not be reckoned vows, the obligations shall not be obligatory, nor the oaths considered as oaths."

CAN YOU NOW TRUST A JEW?

In the book Frank and the Frankists (Cracow 1895) the Jewish lawyer Alexander Kraushaar wrote: "We must use fine words and deceitful talk till all has come into our hands."

Communism is Judaism

THEREFORE:

FOR MY COUNTRY – AGAINST THE JEWS

Editor: Einar Åberg. Norrviken. Sweden

Anti-Judaism is not persecution of or hatred for the Jews. Anti-Judaism is Selfdefence of the individual and of the people.	

Please let this leaflet go around the world.
Anyone who wants to reprint this leaflet, may.

VALKYRIAN · STOCKH — 1955

62-94811-44

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

To quote a French Canadian paper, published in Montreal, in French: "The president of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, at Montreal in 1947, declared: 'The Jews might have had Uganda, Madagascar and other places for the establishment of a Jewish fatherland, but they want absolutely nothing except Palestine; not because of the Biblical or religious significance of Palestine; not because the Dead Sea waters by evaporation can produce five trillion dollars worth of metaloids and powdered metals, not because (following Mr. Dulles) the sub-soil of Palestine contains twenty times more petroleum than all the combined reserves of the two Americas, but because Palestine is the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa, because Palestine constitutes the veritable center of world political Power, the strategic military center for world control.' (L'Unité Nationale, 12/53).

From an article, WORLD CRUCIFIXION and THE MASTER RACE, by Elizabeth Dilling in the periodical COMMON SENSE, Union, New Jersey, U.S.A. March 15, 1954.

Editor: Einar Aberg, Norrviken, Sweden

Please let this leaflet go around the world.
Anyone who wants to reprint this leaflet, may.

VALERIAN · WINLIN — 1955

Let's get it straight

"Those 6 Million Dead Jews"

Spotlight on those poor 6,000,000 Dead Jews.

Since 1945, the Gentile world has never been for one moment allowed to forget the 6,000,000 Jews alleged to have been killed by Hitler in World War II. Even memorials have been erected to commemorate these 6,000,000 dead Jews. World Jewry obviously wants maximum publicity for these 6,000,000 Jews. We are therefore turn yet another spotlight onto this matter.

In 1938 there were 15,688,259 Jews in the world — according to the WORLD ALMANACK for 1947. This figure was given to the WORLD ALMANACK by the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE and the JEWISH STATISTICAL BUREAU of the SYNAGOGUES of AMERICA.

In 1948 there were between 15,600,000 and 18,700,000 Jews in the world — according to an article in the NEW YORK TIMES of 22nd February 1948 by Mr Hanson W. Baldwin, a recognised and wholly impartial expert on population. Mr Baldwin can by no conceivable stretch of imagination be termed an "anti-Semite". Moreover his "boss" and owner of the NEW YORK TIMES is a Jew Arthur Sulzberger, noted as a staunch friend of Britain. Taking Mr. Baldwin's maximum estimate of 18,700,000, we get that during the 10 years 1938-1948 (which includes the war years 1939-1945 when Hitler was supposed to have killed the 6,000,000 Jews) the Jewish population in the [illegible] increased by over 3,000,000, or — [illegible] For the [illegible] we assume that Adolf Hitler really did [illegible] by 9,000,000 — that is to say the 3,000,000 [illegible] 6,000,000 births to replace the 6,000,000 [illegible]

(Note:- If [illegible] figure of 15,600,000 Jews as the Jewish [illegible] does not materially affect the argument of [illegible]

As there [illegible] 18,000,000 Jews in the world, on Israel [illegible] in the 10 years 1938-1948 represents [illegible] population (in only 10 years) of 30[illegible] — even for a race so famoured in sex[illegible]

Given it [illegible] Jew spent 24 hours of every day [illegible] doing nothing — day-in-day-out — ex[illegible] pressure with every single Jewess (of ch[illegible] beyond the possibilities of eugenic a[illegible] have produced 9,000,000 young Jew-b[illegible]

No won[illegible] himself a Jew, was compelled to admit in an article on ANTI-DEFAMATION HYSTERIA in the Spring issue, 1946, of the MENORAH JOURNAL that:-

"As reported during the war years by Jewish news agencies, the number of Jews killed in Europe totals several millions more than [illegible] ever lived"!

In other words, the story of the 6,000,000 dead Jews is a pure fiction [illegible] Jew/Communist lie of American "germ warfare" against the Reds in Korea.

Let us, however, again — purely for sake of argument — assume that Adolf Hitler killed 6,000,000 Jews in World War II (or even 6 Jews). Whose fault was that? Neville Chamberlain, it must not be forgotten, did not blame Hitler or the Germans or the Nazis for the last War. He is quoted in the FORRESTAL DIARIES, USA., 1951, as saying to U.S Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy that:-

"AMERICA AND THE WORLD JEWS HAVE FORCED ENGLAND INTO THE WAR".

(By "America", Chamberlain meant, of course, the America of Roosevelt and his New Deal which was so Jewish that patriotic Americans called it the JEW DEAL).

Responsible leaders of World Jewry have also admitted that the Jews were responsible for the last war as follows:-

The Jew Emil Ludwig (Cohn) wrote in LES ANNALES, June 1934:-

"Hitler will have no war, but he will be forced to it, not this year, but later on...".

The patriotic American Jew Henry Klein (who has publicly disassociated himself from Jewish World Imperialism — i.e. Communism) wrote in his pamphlet THE SANHEDRIN PRODUCED WORLD DESTRUCTION:-

"It was in accordance with the plan outlined in the Protocols (of Zion) that both revolutions (1905 and 1917) occurred in Russia; that we have had two world wars; that the stock markets of the world collapsed in 1929".

The Jew Scholem Asch in an exhortation to French troops in the line in LES NOUVELLES LITTERAIRES of 10th February, 1940 said:-

"This is our war, and you are fighting it out for all of us. Even if we Jews are not bodily with you in the trenches, we are nevertheless morally with you".

Thus on the best possible evidence — that of the Jews themselves and the British Prime Minister as the beginning of the war, Neville Chamberlain, World Jewry and Roosevelt, and not Hitler (according to even the Jews he did not want war), were solely responsible for the last war. Thus if any Jews were killed in it, 6 or 6,000,000, the responsibility for their deaths was Roosevelt's and the leaders of World Jewry, and not Hitler's who was only acting in self-defence. Even the Jews cannot expect to start a war and not get hurt in it.

However, as we have seen, it is a physical impossibility for 6,000,000 Jews to have been killed in the war. Where then have they disappeared to? Fresh light on their almost magical disappearance is coming in daily.

Dr. Cecil ROTH, Oxford History Professor and World Jewish leader, told Kansas City Jews at Temple B'NAI B'RITH, Jehudah, on March 28th, 1952 (reported in the KANSAS CITY STAR, March 29th 1952) that:-

"Now over two-thirds of the Jewish people of the world live in America".

Two-thirds of 18,000,000 (roughly the present jewish world population) is 12,000,000 (but note that Dr. ROTH said "over two-thirds"). The official Jewish population of America in 1948 was 4,641,184. Thus, from 1936 to 1952, America's Jewish population [illegible] 7,000,000 [illegible] where Adolf Hitler's famous 6,000,000 Jews have gone to?

The prominent American Baptist leader W.D. Herstron, Editor of one influential BIBLE NEWS FLASHES, Faribault, USA., apparently thinks so for he wrote [illegible] BIBLE NEWS FLASHES (reprinted in [illegible] 1st April, 1952):-

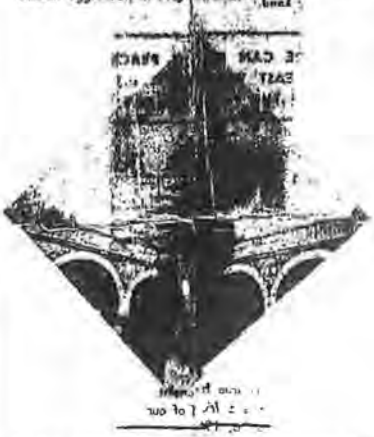
"Where are the 6,000,000 Jews who [illegible] from Germany? Senator Pat McCarran [illegible] 5,000,000 aliens in this country who [illegible] doesn't say who they are but most [illegible] believe that most of them are Jews. [illegible] searched almost complete control [illegible] since the day FDR took office it is [illegible] Jews could come into this country [illegible] publicity and prosecution... No use [illegible] (slang name for Hitler) evens for [illegible] the streets of any American city. There[illegible]

(Pat [illegible] two-fisted [illegible] American, made his statement about the [illegible] aliens into the USA on 20th August [illegible] publicity as Chairman of the U.S Senate [illegible] Internal Security — an admirable position to [illegible]

To sum up, if it is quite impos[illegible] 6,000,000 Jews to have been killed in the [illegible] and all were killed, Roosevelt and [illegible] Jewry were — on the other [illegible] and the Jews themselves [illegible] responsible and not the Germans. In reality [illegible] million Jews who disappeared from [illegible] 1933-1945 were smuggled in illegally [illegible] Roosevelt and his JEW DEAL.

Stoned [illegible] Stephen was not spared [illegible] stoned.

The picture [illegible] of the Saint at the Dominic[illegible] with the head blown off [illegible] during the Jewish aggression [illegible]



*** If a savage, brutal, unscrupulous aggressor takes hold of your possessions, throws you out of your home, desecrates what is most dear to you, murders those most dear to your heart . . .**

how do you feel about it ?

This is a question we put to those who created Israel . . This is a question to which we would like the answer from those who back Israel.

A.F.A.

HUMAN RIGHTS

While the United Nations celebrate the anniversary of HUMAN RIGHTS, the PALESTINE ARABS, at a close distance from their properties, now in enemy hands, watch the Jewish aggressor in possession of their own homes from which they were criminally and treacherously thrown out. They see the usurper in full enjoyment of their own personal effects and belongings, looted and taken away from them by the power of evil, backed by the intrigues and conspiracy of BIG POWERS. — This is the anniversary which by irony of fate, Western Civilisation calls the Anniversary of Human Rights, while in all fairness and justice it should be a day of distress and mourning of HUMAN RIGHTS.

SANSOUR BUILDING [illegible] important ARAB owned properties in the [illegible] part of Jerusalem.

TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1948

Notice to the Public

[illegible] Israel disposes [illegible] property [illegible] copy of the notice to the left that appeared [illegible] advertising the [illegible] by Public [illegible]

Properties seized [illegible] Hon[illegible] woman [illegible] sacred.. [illegible] the Era of Civilisation and Human Rights [illegible]

UNITED [illegible] PLEASE NOTE

These are a specimen of the type of people Israel imports to take the place of the true and rightful owners of the Country, chased out by terrorism and Power Politics.

Our object is to spread the TRUTH as we want the TRUTH to be known and we do it without mercy nor fear.

ANTOINE F. ALBINA

Post Office Box 44 JERUSALEM-Jordan

62-91/c

WORLD - TRUTH

SAVE JERUSALEM

The Jews Plot to make Jerusalem the Capital of Israel.

WHOLESALE DESECRATION OF THE HOLY PLACES.

The Jews have always been plotting to make Jerusalem their Capital... By hook or by crook they seek to reach that end The transfer of their Ministry of the Exterior from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem was the latest step towards their goal and their terrorist actions on the boundary lines to force the Arabs to flee is proof enough of their aims.

In an address on the first of December 1948, the late Chaim Weizman (first Israeli President) said :- "Jerusalem is ours and other rule over the City is inconceivable". Bernard Joseph, alias Dov Joseph, then Military Governor, came to the rescue and added :- "No matter what is decided, we shall never give up our claim to the City. We will never allow non-Jews to rule over Jerusalem".

Weizman must have forgotten that he was a Russian Jew with a British passport and Joseph a foreigner too. We quite agree with both, however, that aliens like them flowing in from Central and E[illegible] should never be allowed to rule over Jerusalem[illegible]

"Jerusalem hold[illegible] in the heart of every Jew to whom it [illegible] significance" Dr. Weizman stated. And [illegible] agree with him on that point too. It must have reminded him and his co-religionists of [illegible] by the Jews two thousand years ago. They [illegible] forget the scene of the murder of Christ [illegible] is still there to remind them of the hist[illegible] of the crucifixion. The Stations of the Cross and the Holy Sepulchre which they have attempted to [illegible] with mortar shells, are still living memories of the [illegible] phases of their infamy. Jerusalem is undoubtedly [illegible] place of such souvenirs.

"We [illegible] forget Jerusalem..." Weizman went further to[illegible] year we have sealed afresh our covena[illegible] of our sons and daughters". To this, we add, Jerusalem too cannot forget the Jews. For in that year they sealed afresh their covenant with th[illegible] Shrines in the city, but not [illegible] death once again, they found no better [illegible] their heinous and barbarous fury than to [illegible] in the most vile and brutal manner [illegible] emblem of Christianity under the feet, cover[illegible] human excrement, and blow up Sanctuaries and set them on fire.

"We want to be free in the land of sion and Jerusalem", this gentleman did not fail to add. We dare not deny that [illegible] the Jews have so far been allowed complete [illegible] exercise in Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine large scale looting, incendiarism, destruction of property, murder, rape and a variety of bestial acts... and Deir Yassin... the atrocities of Deir Yassin on the outskirts of Jerusalem which they claim with pride to have committed, those atrocities which the Jews are proud of and consider as "a brilliant act of war", the massacre of defenceless women and children... can these be forgotten or can the treacherous criminal attack on Kibya village, when in the darkness of the night of October the 15th, 1953 the gallant Israeli soldiers swept across the border and went into the village with rifles and Sten guns, shooting at night, men, women and children in their sleep, mining and blowing up houses over the head of the occupants, which resulted in sixty seven dead, mostly women and children, butchered while asleep... can these be forgotten and are they not proof enough of the freedom of action the Jews enjoy in this land and in Jerusalem?

And last but not least there is a new historical tie that links the Jews to Jerusalem. We should not forget and give them all the credit rightly due to them for the murder of Count Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator and his Chief Observer, Colonel Sérot, in broad daylight, in the centre of Jerusalem.

Are not all these proofs strong enough for the Jews to have satanic claim over Jerusalem? And after all this, how can the Jews forget Jerusalem? or if you like it better how can Jerusalem forget the Jews?

CHRISTIANS OF THE WORLD AWAKE....

Should the Jews be allowed control over Jerusalem, this would mean the funeral of Christendom, for the aim of these criminal hordes is to wipe out every trace of Christianity. These are no empty words, the fact is there and they have proved it.

The numerous acts of vandalism, loot and defamation of churches and Sanctuaries which were subjected to the most vile, heinous and hideous manner are no secret. The savage, methodic and systematic destruction of Christian Places of worship leave a feeling of revulsion and disgust in every one who is able to see with his own eyes what the Jews have achieved in the Holy Land.

Here are some of the churches and Religious Institutions which the Jews have marked down for destruction in their invasion of Palestine, and they were up to their word :-

JERUSALEM :- Benedictines Dormition Church on Mount Zion. Franciscan Church of the Cenacle on Mount Zion. The Church and Convent of Marie Réparatrice at New Gate. Notre Dame de France at New Gate. Italian Hospital building under the Red Cross Flag.

HAIFA :- The Sisters of St. Anna — St. Charles Hospice — Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches — Italian Hospital.

TIBERIAS :- The Casa Nova Hostel and Franciscan Convent. St. Peter's Church, property of the Custody of the Holy Land. House of the Franciscan Sisters.

CAPHARNAUM :- Sanctuary Church of the Beatitudes and Hospice [illegible] and of the Sea of Galilee. The [illegible] Franciscan Convent.

The Church of "Mensa Christi" on the shores of the Lake [illegible]

TABGHA [illegible] Shrines of the Multiplication of the [illegible] the Sea of Galilee — The Hospice.

The Church of Notre Dame in Jerusalem after being ransacked [illegible] and precaution taken to tread down [illegible] taken down from the Altars which were [illegible], the Israeli used the Sanctuary as a [illegible] Haganah boys and girls, and sleeping [illegible] sexes.

[illegible] Convent of Marie Réparatrice at New Gate, Jerusalem, where is nothing left standing as the Jews systematically destroyed that beautif[illegible] and church [illegible] with dynamite [illegible] setting fire to it on [illegible] inside the building six nuns who [illegible] place and who only by a heavenly miracle [illegible] death.

As late [illegible] 1952, the Archbishop of Galilee, Mgr. Georg[illegible] [illegible]ted in strong terms to the Israeli Minister [illegible] Dr. Herzog, against the wholesale destructi[illegible] Ikrit and the profanation of the church [illegible] The Cross that was standing erect above [illegible] and the belfry was void of its bell[illegible] the Jewish inhabitants of the [illegible] in announcing [illegible] their meals.

In his letter [illegible] Rabbi, the Archbishop writes:- 'From above [illegible] overseeing the village. I would not but ponder [illegible] what would the Righteous God keep in store for these crimes that are being committed by a people [illegible] and what would be the verdict of the International [illegible] which is bound to know the truth sooner or [illegible]

The Truth is now [illegible] COMMUNISM IS JEWISH and the Jews who [illegible] Revolution and did not rest until they [illegible] of religion and religious Institutions in [illegible] empire, have turned their face towards the Holy [illegible] all they have done so far, they have not yet [illegible] criminal instincts and will not stop [illegible] crime and terror to reach a long [illegible] Jerusalem the capital of Israel and wipe [illegible] Christianity and religion from the Holy Land.

A. F. A

THERE CAN [illegible] PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST W[illegible] A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE [illegible] QUESTION.

They even attack the dead in their sleep, to satisfy their inner bestial tendencies...

Only in April 1954, during the Holy Week and on the eve of Easter, the Christian Cemeteries in Haifa were invaded by Israeli hordes, the Crosses were broken down and trampled under the feet of these mecreants, the tombs desecrated, the dead disturbed in their sleep. — *The picture below is enough proof and speaks for itself.*

This brutal act forced the Christians living under the Israeli yoke to come out into a mass protest demonstration which went through the streets of Haifa, led by Monseigneur George Hakim, the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee and other Church dignitaries of all Christian Communities. — *See the pictures below.*

Does he look to be mad ?

You say no, and I say no. — But World-Jewry wants him to be certified.

[illegible] from Norrviken, Sweden. This is the man who has all his life been exposing Zionist crimes and to silence him, World-Jewry, has been striving and tried more than once to have him declared insane, so that he should be locked in. By the middle of 1954 the Swedish Government was petitioned towards that end, and no stone was left unturned to have the man put under lock.

Under pressure, the Swedish Government, like many others, gave in and to appease the Jews, Einar Aberg was in October 1954 sentenced to two months imprisonment for his activities against the chosen people, for exposing Jewish crimes and for warning the world against them.

Like every true [illegible] working for the common cause to save the world from the Jewish yoke and Zionist domination, Einar Aberg is a friend of ours and as soon as we heard of what the Jews were aiming against him, we cabled the following on August 26, 1954 —

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS STOCKHOLM

THE JEWS HAVE ASSASSINATED COUNT BERNADOTTE TO PREVENT HIM FROM PRESENTING THE UNITED NATIONS HIS REPORT ON PALESTINE PROBLEM [illegible] THE JEWS ARE NOW SEEKING TO SILENCE THROUGH SWEDISH GOVERNMENT EINAR ABERG TO PREVENT HIM EXPOSING THEIR CRIMES TO THE WORLD stop WE HOPE THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT FALL IN THE TRAP — Antoine F. Albina [illegible]

but the Sweish Government yielded to Jewish pressure and Aberg was sentenced to two months iiprisonment.

We wan Justice and no more. - Palestine Arabs.

Published by A. F. ALBINA. April 1955
Printed by the Commercial Press — Jerusalem

2 - Original &
1 - Yellow file
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

SAC, Oklahoma City

July 13, 1960

b7C

Director, FBI

BYRON, INC. FILM ENTITLED
"AMERICAN COMMUNISTS IN THE U.N."
RESEARCH MATTER

Reurlet 6/29/60, and captioned film, which was forwarded under separate cover.

The enclosed film was examined at the Seat of Government and was determined to contain nothing of interest to the Bureau.

It is recommended that the film be returned to Mr. Friman, from whom it was obtained, with the suggestion that he may want to return it to Facts Forum. At last report, Facts Forum was located in Dallas, Texas.

Enclosure

JEM:jes
(11)

NOTE ON YELLOW: The above captioned film was reviewed on July 5, 1960, by Supervisors [redacted], of [redacted], [redacted] of Subversive Control; and [redacted] of the Investigative Division, and was found to contain nothing of interest to the Bureau. It is a 26-minute attack on the United Nations by TV commentator Dan Smoot.

b7C

Smoot was an Agent from 3/23/42 to 6/15/51. During an inspection of the Dallas office in 1951, Smoot made unfounded charges against his SAC and, as a result of this and his failure to inform the Bureau earlier of certain matters, he was censured, placed on probation, and transferred. Shortly thereafter he resigned. His attitude, both before and after his resignation, was extremely antagonistic.

The film is being retain in the Central Research Section pending approval of letter.

EX-105

62-94811-45

22 JUL 14 1960

Tolson
Mohr
Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐